

THE
INDO-GREEK COINS

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FOREWORD

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INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
LUDHIANA.
1967.

Published by L. D. Mohan for the
Indological Research Institute,
482--R. Model Town,
Ludhiana.

Printed in India by Dev Datt Shastri

at the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute Press,

Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur.

F O R E W O R D

It is with a feeling of genuine pleasure that I comply with Dr. Mehta Vasishtha's request for writing a foreword to the present book of his: The Indo-Greek Coins. The subject is neither new nor unfamiliar to the student of ancient Indian history; but it is admittedly one which continues to suffer from obscurities, uncertainties and ambiguities. As such, it offers ample room for new facts and fresh interpretations. From this point of view, Dr. Vasishtha's work will, I am sure, be welcomed as a distinct contribution.

Early history of India, it may be observed, is still in the process of being reconstructed. Recent archaeological discoveries have added much to the available authentic source material for that purpose. And it goes without saying that old inscriptions and coins rank among the best and most reliable data, especially in India, where the literary sources and traditions are so encumbered with myth and legend.

While the inscribed coins, so far discovered, belonging to the early Christian centuries, particularly those of the Gupta dynasty, have been subjected to a fairly minute study, those of the earlier times, say of the Indo-Greek period, have till now not received such a comprehensive treatment. One of the reasons for this seems to be the foreign script and language in which the legends on such coins are inscribed. They are more difficult for Indian scholars to tackle. The desideratum is, I presume, supplied by the present treatise.

The chief merit of this handy book is that it reviews all that has been done on the subject by previous scholars, both Indian and foreign, and embodies the fresh data with fresh interpretations. It is a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject of ancient Indian history in general, and on that of early Indian numismatics in particular.

B. Ch. Chhabra.

Professor and Head of the Department

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Ancient Indian History and Culture,

May 10, 1967.

Panjab University, Chandigarh.

P R E F A C E

The Indo-Greek princes issued perhaps the earliest inscribed coins in India. These were cast coins. They went through an elaborate minting process. The original was probably chiselled in stone. Life-like figure of the ruling prince and of some divinity, besides other devices, were drawn in relief. The legend, in Greek letters for the obverse and in Greek or *Kharoshthi* or, in rare cases, in *Brahmi* letters, for the reverse, was also inscribed. Obverse and reverse moulds were obtained by pressing the originals in wet seasoned clay. Coins of earlier sets were also used as originals for preparing fresh moulds. When dry, the obverse and reverse moulds were attached to one another, face to face, by an outer layer of clay, leaving a slit on the rim for pouring molten metal into the cavity in between. The clay moulds were first baked in an oven. As soon as they were taken out and were still hot, they were filled in with molten metal. Silver and copper were commonly used for minting. Some gold coins and a few nickel ones, too, have come down to us.

Inscribed coins of an earlier period are hardly known. The Mauryas did not issue any, nor did Pushyamitra *Sunga*. Only the *Pañchanekame* coins and those of Sophytes (*Saubhūti*) can be assigned to pre-Indo-Greek period. Even these were produced in Gandhāra and the adjoining districts and were evidently inspired by the art of Greek mintmen of neighbouring Bactria and Syria. Incidentally, the Sophytes legend is in Greek letters. Barring these, the only coins assignable to an earlier period are the ones known as the punch-marked coins. These are crude pieces of metal with certain devices hammered into them. They bear neither legend nor portrait, human or divine. Needless to say, their value as a source of history is far less than that of the inscribed cast coins.

Although numismatics has long been recognised as a distinct science, no comprehensive research embracing all aspects

of the Indian coins of any period, except perhaps the Gupta age, has so far been undertaken. The existing coin catalogues and papers frequently appearing in research journals do not go beyond cataloguing elementary^{*} information. The researcher is left to his own efforts for piecing together bits of numismatic information scattered over a wide range of historical literature. Since his vision is necessarily confined to his own problem, he formulates laws of his own to suit his line of argument. No effort is made to understand the contemporary minting technique before drawing far-reaching conclusions. Even historians of the eminence of Rapson, Cunningham, Marshall, Tarn, Narain and others betray this lapse. No wonder, fantastic theories came to be formulated and universally accepted. A typical example is the one which lays down that the so-called overstrikes, i.e. coins bearing double impressions, prove conquest of one ruler by another, the conqueror restriking or overstriking the coinage of the vanquished. These scholars little realised that the process of casting coins required smelting of metal; and consequently, the earlier impressions could not survive on the recast coin.

It was mostly the western scholars who interested themselves in the Indo-Greek history. Their acquaintance with the ancient Indian literature was rather casual. In some cases the approach was noticeably subjective. To an impartial reader the attempts of Rapson, Macdonald, Tarn and others appear as coloured with an anxiety to glorify the Greek. Thus they unfortunately failed in correlating numismatic evidence to the information supplied by near-contemporary Indian literature. Consequently, a one-sided and distorted view of history came to be presented, putting the Indian in an unfavourable light. The cause of historical justice, therefore, demanded an objective examination of this vast and immensely useful source. The present study is an attempt in this direction. My endeavour has been to take notice of not only all that has so far appeared on the Indo-Greek coinage, but also to present a lot more by way of sifting old views, offering new interpretations and

building fresh historical theses in the light of the latest coin-finds and new evidence collected from ancient Indian literature. The work on this project started way back in late nineteenfifties when my Ph. D. thesis was underway. Into this latter a brief chapter on the subject was incorporated.

Among the new facts brought to light by the present study attention may be invited to the following :—

1. In the light of a reference in the *Mahābhārata* to Gandhāra rebellion against Demetrius, the *Brāhma* legends on certain coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles assume a new significance (Ch. II).
2. The divinities figuring on the Indo-Greek coins have to be classified into two groups, namely the City or *Vagara-devatā* and Family or *Kula-devatā*. Those of the first group provide us with clues to locate the mint city, while those of the second group enable us to assign the associated prince to one or the other of the two feuding Indo-Greek ruling families (Ch. III).
3. The Indo-Greek rulers did not have regular mint establishments. Minting work was, most probably, entrusted to a large number of contractors, who introduced on coins their respective identity marks in the form of monograms (Ch. IV).
4. Propaganda moves of an entirely different nature than hitherto suspected have come to light from Agathocles' *Hiranasame* types. Through these he was seeking the support of his Indian subjects against Eukratides, a fact he did not want his Greek legionaries to know for fear of defections. Hence the total absence of Greek legends from *Hiranasame* coins (Ch. V).
5. The minting of mules or so-called overstrikes was not a conscious operation. Such coins were cast in faulty moulds, which received double impressions as a result of a lapse on the part the smith. It must be remembered that the entire Indo-Greek currency consisted of cast coins. As already stated, metal had to be smelted for manufacturing them, and earlier impressions, if any, could not survive on the recast coin (Ch. VI).

6. Family affiliations and chronology of the Indo-Greek princes have been established on sounder principles. Their chronology has carefully been correlated to the contemporary events in other parts of India as recorded in ancient Indian literature (Chs. VIII--IX).

Though I have inevitably disagreed on many points with the pioneers in the field, to wit, Lassen, Alexander Cunningham, Percy Gardner, Alfred von E. Rapson, W.W. Tarn, A.K. Narain, and discussing the coins of the successors in north-west India in progress in this field, had the

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अथवा कृत-वाग्-द्वारे शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् पूर्व - सूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्र-समुक्तीर्णे सूत्रस्येवाऽस्ति मे गतिः ॥¹

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who so kindly wrote out the foreword to this volume.

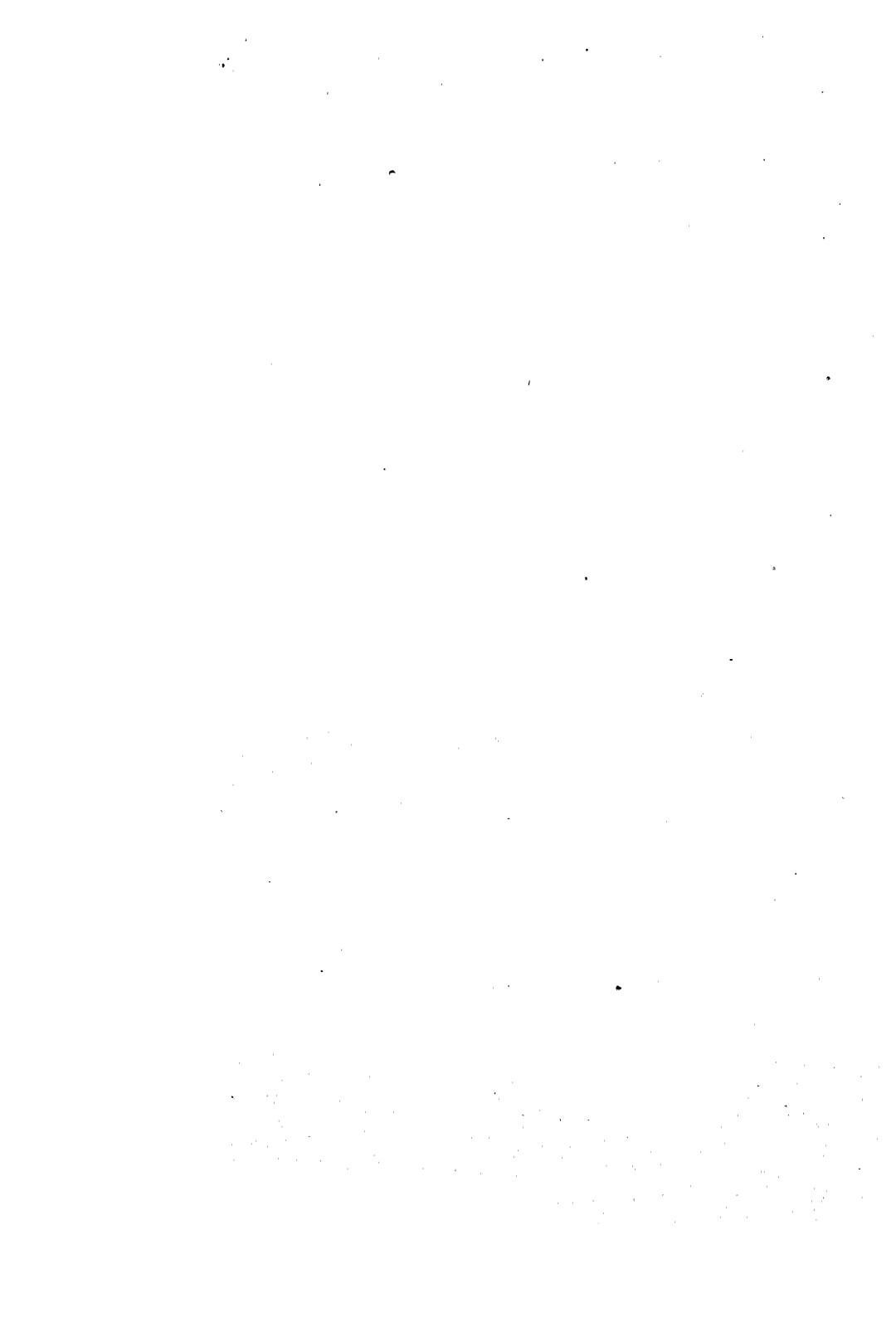
Last but not least my thanks are due to Pt. Vishvabandhu for his blessings as also to Pt. Dev Datt Shastri, Director Press Vibhāg, Vishveshvarānand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur and his team of workers who displayed remarkable ingenuity in overcoming diverse typographical problems.

I shall feel amply rewarded if this little volume renders any service to the cause of research.

Government College,
Ludhiana.
May 15, 1967.

Mehta Vasishtha Dev Mohan.

1. Adapted from the *Raghuvamśa*, I. 4.



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- J.A.O.S.* *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
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- N.C. or N.W. Ind.* *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Num. Chron.* Numismatic Society, London.
- N.W. Ind.* M.V.D. Mohan, *North-West India during the Second Century B.C.*
- P.M.* Punjab Museum, Lahore
- S.B.E.* *Sacred Books of the East.*
- Z.D.M.G.* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF COIN-TYPES

<i>A</i>	gold
<i>AR</i>	silver
<i>Æ</i>	copper
l.	left
Obv.	obverse
r.	right
Rev.	reverse

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF INDIAN ALPHABET

अ = a	ऐ = ā	इ = i	उ = u	ऋ = ii	ए = e	ऐ = ai	ओ = o	ओ = au	क = k	ख = kh	ग = g	घ = gh	ड = ḡ	च = ch	छ = chh	ज = j	झ = jh	ञ = ñ	ट = t	ठ = th
आ = ā																		॒ = āh		
इ = i																		॒ = īh		
उ = u																		॒ = ūh		
त = t																		॒ = t̄h		
थ = th																		॒ = th̄h		
द = d																		॒ = d̄h		
ध = dh																		॒ = dh̄h		
न = n																		॒ = n̄h		
प = p																		॒ = p̄h		
फ = ph																		॒ = ph̄h		
ब = b																		॒ = b̄h		
भ = bh																		॒ = bh̄h		
म = m																		॒ = m̄h		
य = y																		॒ = ȳh		
र = r																		॒ = r̄h		
ल = l																		॒ = l̄h		
व = v																		॒ = v̄h		
श = ś																		॒ = ś̄h		
ष = sh																		॒ = sh̄h		
स = s																		॒ = s̄h		
ह = h																		॒ = h̄h		
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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF ENGLISH ALPHABET.

a = अ

l = ल

ā = आ

m = म

ai = ऐ

ṁ = ॑

au = औ

n = न

b = ब

ɳ = ण

bh = भ

ñ = ञ

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o = ओ

d = द

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r = र

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ri = रू

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jh = झ

ū = ऊ

k = क

v = व

kh = ख

y = य

THE INDO-GREEK COINS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

In the second century B.C. numerous princes of Greek origin ruled over small principalities in the extreme north-west of the Indian sub-continent. Literature is silent about most of them. The ancient Greek writers took notice of only four of them, namely, Demetrius, Apollodotus, Menander and Eucratides, while the ancient Indian literature knew only the first three. One more Greek prince, e.g. Antialkidas of Taxila, is known from the Garuḍa pillar inscription at Besnagar (ancient Vidisā) near Gwalior,¹ of his ambassador, Heliodorus. We have, however, discovered during the last hundred years vast hoards of coins issued by the Indo-Greek princes. They revealed to us the existence of some thirty-six rulers, including two queens — Agathocleia and Calliope. It is evident that many of them ruled contemporaneously over different regions.

The Indo-Greek coins are fine specimens of art. They provide valuable evidence for piecing together the otherwise little-known history of these times. They can be studied under the following heads :—

I. Metal, denomination, shape and design.

II. Legend and effigy of the king. The names and titles of the kings, the language, script and the design, including the shape of letters in the legend should be carefully examined. Noteworthy features about a ruler's portrait are his bust, weapons and other equipment on his

1. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91. Also J. Marshall, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 1055 and J. Ph. Vogel, A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 126.

person, posture in which he is portrayed, and items of dress such as head-gear, drapery and diadem.

III. Divinity—A common feature on Indo-Greek coins is the portraiture of divinities. These are of two types: City or Nagara-devatā and Family or Kula-devatā. The first type gives the location of the mint and the second the family affiliations of the king. Sometimes the representation is symbolic. But even the symbol is enough for the identification of the divinity. The deity's posture or action as portrayed on a coin may reveal to us the intention of the king. Warlike posture, such as hurling a thunderbolt, is indicative of the king's aggressive ambitions. In a state of rest the deity may suggest peaceful plans. In a few cases the legend contains a description of the divinity.

IV. Monogram.

V. Propaganda War through the medium of currency—A number of early Indo-Greek rulers, of whom at least three are known, issued a number of interesting coin-series. These are known as Pedigree or Propaganda Series. Coins of these series bear the ruler's legend on the reverse, while on the obverse some past king—a real or supposed ancestor—is commemorated. The king thus commemorated is not given any royal title, indicating that he was no longer alive and reigning. These coin-series were issued by rulers of two rival houses, who are known from unambiguous literary evidence to have been at war with each other. This phenomenon reveals a long drawn out dispute over the legal title to the throne.

VI. Determination of date from numismatic evidence.

VII. Joint issues.

VIII. Family affiliations and other miscellaneous matters.

The principles of numismatics as laid down in the ensuing chapters can be better understood if put in the

historic perspective. A brief account of the events of this period is, therefore, given in the following paragraphs² :—

On Alexander's death at Babylon in about 323 B. C. his vast empire was apportioned among his generals. Central Asia fell to the share of Seleucus Nicator, whose descendants continued to rule over this extensive region from their headquarters at Antioch in Syria. About 250 B. C. Diodotus I, the satrap of Bactria, threw off the Seleucid yoke and began to rule independently. But his son and successor, Diodotus II, was assassinated in a court intrigue by Euthydemus, himself a satrap of the former. This event took place well before 208 B. C., since on this date Antiochus III of Syria led an expedition to reassert his authority over Bactria, and finding himself unable to crush Euthydemus, he concluded an alliance with this Bactrian king.³ In return for recognition of nominal Seleucid suzerainty, which soon became a dead letter, Antiochus left him his kingdom and gave his daughter in marriage to youthful Demetrius, the promising and handsome son of Euthydemus. This fact of marriage, referred to by Polybius, is confirmed by a pedigree coin of Demetrius' son, Agathocles.⁴ In the legend he traces his descent from "Antiochus the Conqueror."

By the closing years of the 3rd century B. C. India had lost the unity and cohesion given to her by the powerful early Mauryas. This great family had split up into several branches, each ruling independently over small dominions. Jalauka, a son of Asoka, was ruling over Kashmir.⁵ We know from Polybius⁶ that about 212 B. C., Subhāgasena,

2. This historical narrative has been condensed from my Ph. D. thesis entitled, "The North-West India during the Second Century B. C." (To be published shortly).

3. Polybius, XI, 34. 9—10.

4. Pl. III. 3. Also C. A. S. E., II. 3; B. M. C., XXX. 5; and C. H. I., Pl. IV. 1.

5. Rajatarāṅgini, I. 101-108.

6. XI. 34. 11.

presumably another Maurya, was ruling in Afghanistan. The imperial throne at Paṭaliputra was occupied by Śaliśuka.⁷ But it appears that his dictate did not run beyond the borders of ancient Magadha, for we know that Bṛihadratha, a pretender to the imperial Mauryan crown, was running his court at Sāketa. The Brahmandā and the Vāyu Purāṇas seem to uphold the claim to imperial status of the line of rulers to which Bṛihadratha belonged, to the exclusion of Śaliśuka and his predecessors.⁸ But the sway of the Sāketa house, too, did not extend in the west beyond the river Yamunā. The princes ruling in Vidiṣā (Gwalior) and Vidarbha (Berar) owed nominal allegiance to one or the other of the two houses. The entire country west of the Yamunā as far as the Indus was under the control of tribal republics (Janapadas) and city corporations (nigamas) who probably began to issue coins about this time. Later about 1st century B.C., influenced by the superior art of the Indo-Greek mint-men, the tribal republics are known to have issued even inscribed coins.

Such were the conditions in India when the remaining check to the political ambitions of Bactria was removed. About 194 B.C. Antiochus III of Syria got hopelessly involved in hostilities with the Romans. Defeated first at Thermopylae and shortly afterwards at Magnesia he became powerless to interfere in the designs of Euthydemus and his son, Demetrius. Subhāgasena of Afghanistan, too, was presumably dead about this time. Euthydemus at once seized the opportunity and began to extend his power in all directions. He snatched from Parthia the satrapies of Astauene and Apavartikene. These, under the names Tapuria, and Traxiane respectively, were added to the Bactrian province of Margiane to form a sub-kingdom with headquarters at Merv for his third son, Antimachus.

7. Yuga Purāṇa of the Garga Samhitā, J. B. O. R. S., XIV. 1928, p. 401, LL. 16 sq.

8. See Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 70.

Euthydemus reoccupied Sogdiana and Ferghana. Thus strengthened he sent his eldest son, Demetrius, on an expedition into India. On this occasion the latter advanced as far as Śākala, and renamed this city as Euthydemia⁹ in honour of his father and sovereign. At this point his father suddenly died. Demetrius returned to Bactria to be crowned. But the Greek garrisons left behind at Śākala were annihilated by Jalauka of Kashmir.¹⁰ Thus the traces of his first invasion into India proper disappeared. He may, however, have retained hold over Kāpiśa and parts of Gandhāra.

Soon after accession in about 192 B. C. Demetrius occupied Arachosia.¹¹ Apollodotus, his younger brother, was appointed sub-king with head-quarters at Alexandria (mod. Kandahar) to govern this region. About this time, when Apollodotus was encamped at Kalasi-grāma, his queen gave birth to Menander.¹²

Demetrius now began to equip his army for an invasion into the interior of India. Consolidation of his hold over Kāpiśa, Arachosia and Gandhāra and preparation for further aggression may have taken about two years. When ready he reorganised his administration in a way that left him and Apollodotus free to lead the invading armies. The eldest son, Euthydemus II, was appointed sub-king of Bactria. The next son, Demetrius II, was made sub-king of Kāpiśa and possibly Arachosia. And the third son, Pantaleon, was appointed to administer Gandhāra with headquarters at Pushkalāvatī (near mod. Charsadda). Antimachus, the

9. Ptolemy, VII. 1.46, spells the name as Euthymedia, an obvious error for Euthydemia.

10. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I. 115-17.

11. In Arachosia he founded a city and named it Demetrias, an indication that he, not Euthydemus, was the sovereign now. In other words, annexation or reannexation of these areas took place during the reign of Demetrius.

12. Milinda-pañho (ed. by R. D. Vadekar), III. 33-34: Questioned by sage Nāgasena, Menander replied :

“अतिथि भन्ते अलसन्दो नाम दीपो । तत्था ‘हं जातो’ ति ।

अतिथि भन्ते कलसि-गामो नाम । तत्था ‘हं जातो’ ति ॥”

youngest brother of Demetrius, was already ruling as sub-king at Merv.

Before Demetrius could set off from his base at Taxila two accidents occurred that seriously affected his plans. Euthydemus II died. Immediate arrangements had to be made for the governance of the Bactrian satrapy. Demetrius II was, therefore, given the additional charge of administering Bactria. The second and more serious happening was the revolt in Gandhāra. Freedom-loving people of this region, known as Gandharvas or Aśvkas, shook off the foreign yoke, killed Pantaleon, the Greek sub-king, and possibly put the forces of occupation to flight. According to the Mahābhārata¹³ it took Demetrius three years in re-establishing his authority there. After quelling this insurrection he appointed his youngest son, Agathocles, as sub-king in Pantaleon's place. We can presume, he left some trusted lieutenant to assist the young prince.

In about 187 B. C. Demetrius was free from domestic preoccupations to launch his Indian expedition which he had been planning for many years. His strategy was to drive around northern India two pincers which were planned to close in on Pāṭaliputra. Led by Apollodotus one jaw of the pincers was driven into Sindh and Surāshṭra. Thence, turning inland this column advanced towards Vidiṣā. The stronghold of Madhyamikā near Chittor stood in the way. Here his advance was finally checked by some Indian ruler, who, on circumstantial evidence, appears to have been Agnimitra Śunga. In the Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa the latter figures as the sub-king of his father, Pushyamitra, at the provincial headquarter, Vidiṣā, located nearby. The

13. Ādi Parvan, 138. 20-21 :

त्रिवर्ष-कृत-यत्नस्तु गंधवर्णःमुपप्लवे ।

अर्जुन-प्रमुखैः पार्थैः सौवीरैः समरे हतः ॥२०॥

दत्तामित्रमिति रुयातं संग्रामे कृतनिश्चयम् ।

सुमित्रं नाम सौवीरमर्जुनोऽदमयच्छरैः ॥२१॥

siege of Madhyamikā failed, and Apollodotus was driven back across Surāshṭra into Sauvīra or Sindh.

Demetrius placed himself at the head of the other pincer, which comprised the major part of the Greek army. He crossed the Panjab and set up his advance base at Mathurā, from where he proceeded to lay siege to Śaketa. Having failed to subdue this city even after a long siege¹⁴ he decided to by-pass Śaketa and advance to the famous city of Pāṭaliputra. His sudden advance, it appears, gave a shattering blow to the power and prestige of the Maurya rulers.¹⁵ Pushyamitra Śunga, the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya forces, took advantage of the general discontent of the army and the people at the cowardly policy of the Maurya rulers who fondly described their inaction and cowardice as Dharma-vijaya. On the occasion of an army review and in full view of the assembled forces Pushyamitra cut off the head of king Brīhadratha Maurya¹⁶ and took over the reigns of government. Thus freed from the emasculating Maurya overlordship, he, at once, attacked the Greek base at Mathurā. Demetrius, who was at the moment pounding at the mud-walls of Pāṭaliputra,¹⁷ fell back in confusion. Apollodotus, too, had suffered a crushing defeat about this time at Madhyamikā and was fleeing post-haste towards Sauvīra.

- While the Greeks were in retreat everywhere, Pushyamitra instigated a revolt in Bactria through one Eukratides. With a handful of followers the latter evaded
- Demetrius II, the sub king at Bactria, for quite some months and ultimately drove him south of the Hindu Koh.

14. Mahābhāṣya, III. 2. 2, speaks of this Yavana siege which became renowned obviously for the heroism of the defenders.

15. Yuga Purāṇa of the Garga Saṃhitā, J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 1928, p. 401, L. L., 16-25.

16. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, Harsha Charita, Ch. VI, ed. P. V. Kane, p. 50.

17. Yuga P., *op. cit.*, LL. 22-24.

Pushyamitra eventually overtook and overpowered the fleeing Greek hosts. Having killed Demetrius in the final battle, Pushyamitra crossed the Indus and occupied the Swat valley, where his descendants, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra continued to rule till Śaka-Pahlava times.¹⁸ Apollodotus, who succeeded Demetrius, sought peace. He was allowed to rule over Sauvīra, as a Śūṅga vassal.

After driving out the invaders, the first task before Pushyamitra was to re-establish central authority over the disintegrating Maurya dominions. As the Maurya power collapsed, numerous upstarts had proclaimed their independence in various parts of the empire. Pushyamitra performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice by way of proclamation of his authority as an imperial power. In the process he destroyed not only the free-booters like Khāravela of Kaliṅga¹⁹ but also the remnants of the Maurya authority, such as represented by Śālisūka of Pāṭaliputra. It is known from the Malavikāgnimitram²⁰ of Kālidāsa that his son, Agnimitra, ruling over Vidiṣā as his sub-king, had captured an escaping minister of an unnamed Maurya king.

It has already been mentioned that on hearing the debacle of Demetrian armies in India, Eukratides had revolted and established himself in Bactria. A long drawn out struggle for power between him and the descendants of Demetrius is indicated by what are known as pedigree or propaganda coins. Eukratides issued his Heliocles and Laodike type of coins, by way of proclaiming his descent from the Seleucid house of Syria. This seems to have caused a large number of defections to his side from Demetrian legions. The loyalty of Greek armies to the house of Seleucus is well-known. In order to stem the tide of large-scale defections from their ranks the Demetrian princes,

18. Cf. Bajaur Casket Inscription, Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 1-8 and XXVII, pp. 52-58. Also Sircar, Select Inscriptions, vol. I, pp. 102-104.

19. Cf. his Hathigumpha Inscription, Ep. Ind., XX, 1929-30, p. 79. In this inscription Khāravela claims to have looted northern India.

20. Act I. 7.

Antimachus I and Agathocles, issued many pedigree types one after the other. Resort to patent falsehoods, such as claiming dissent even from Diodotus and Alexander, shows the desperate state to which they were driven.

Eukratides occupied even Kāpiśī and perhaps Arachosia. Eventually he killed Antimachus and Agathocles, his Demetrian adversaries. But by this time the Greek armies had discovered that Eukratides was merely a Śunga stooge. Greek emotions ran so wild against him that his son Heliocles got panicky and killed him when he was returning in triumph after destroying his enemies of the Demetrian house. In order to assert his dissociation from his father's treachery to the Greek cause, Heliocles drove his chariot over Eukratides' dead body and ordered it to be cast away unburied.²¹

Pushyamitra ruled peacefully for 36 years. His empire extended from the Swat valley to Vidarbha and from Surāshṭra to Kāmarūpa. But during the later part of his long reign peace was again disturbed by the Greeks. Apollodotus, who had been defying Śunga authority for quite some time, now crossed the Indus and occupied the Sindh Sagar Doab as far as Taxila. This aggression forced the hands of Pushyamitra. A second horse sacrifice was planned. The sacrificial horse was deliberately driven into the occupied region. Apollodotus challenged the Śunga forces which were operating under the command of young Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra. In an encounter on the southern bank of the Indus, the youthful prince inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yavanas.²² The battle-field can be located somewhere north of Taxila near the bridge-head of Ohind. Apollodotus was killed.²³ The Śunga authority was re-established in the Sindh Sagar Doab.

21. Justin, XLI. 6.

22. Mālavikāgnimitram, Act V.

23. Mahābhārata, 138.20-23 alludes to the Yavana defiance of Indian authority and records the death of Apollodotus in battle against an Indian prince.

Menander, son and successor of Apollodotus, must have come to terms with the Śūṅgas on the basis of *status quo ante*. By this time he had attained considerable administrative experience. Menander's father had associated him in administration at a very young age. On the earliest coins he issued as a sub-king he is depicted as a boy in his teens.²⁴

About 160 B.C., when he came to the throne, Menander was thirty or a few years older. He was a shrewd and powerful ruler. Śūṅgas were at the height of their power. Menander maintained correct relations with them and looked to the north for expansion. He seems to have recovered Gandhāra and Kāpiśā from Heliocles. This is indicated by his Pushkalāvatī and Kāpiśī types.

At about 140 B.C. the powerful Śūṅga emperor Agnimitra died. Menander was not tardy in taking advantage of the situation. He occupied west Panjab. At Śākala (mod. Sialkot) he met the Buddhist sage Nāgasena whose discourses impressed him to such an extent that he entered the Buddhist faith.²⁵ The Śūṅgas did not wait long for retaliation. Plutarch records Menander's death in camp,²⁶ probably in war against the Śūṅgas. Scarcity of his Buddhist coinage indicates a brief reign after the conversion. He may have lost his life about 138 B.C.

Menander's teen-aged son, Strato, was raised to the throne, with queen Agathocleia acting as the regent. The joint rule of mother and son lasted about three years, during which they issued at least four joint types. These types provide an interesting commentary on how rapidly power slipped from the hands of Agathocleia till she altogether disappeared from the coinage. Heliocles, though old now, took advantage of the essential weakness of a woman's administration, and annexed Kāpiśī, and Pushkalāvatī, the

24. Pl. III. 6.

25. The Milinda-pañho records this visit and consequent conversion.

26. Moralia, 821, D-E.

cities he had earlier lost to Menander. He, in turn, was driven out of Bactria by the Śakas about 130 B. C. Heliocles, or perhaps his successor Antialkidas, occupied even Taxila, which was the latter's seat of government in about 100 B. C., according to the Besnagar inscription.²⁷ It appears, the Śungas, too, reoccupied the west Panjab as far as the Jhelum, thereby linking up with their old allies, the Eukratidian princes, and exchanged ambassadors with them.

Antialkidas and Strato both lived long and witnessed the gradual erosion of Greek power in north-west India. The Śakas spread over Arachosia, Seistan and Sindh. About 80 B. C. they overwhelmed Strato in his helpless old age. Soon they moved west into the territories of Antialkidas and set up in Kāpisi-Nikaea region of northern Afghanistan puppet Greek princes, who became pawns in the struggle for power between Maues in the south and Azes in Seistan and Arachosia, till they were wiped out by one or the other of these two Śaka rulers.

27. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91; J. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1055.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL FEATURES

1. METAL

The quality of metal, especially of gold and silver, may indicate prosperity or otherwise of the ruler. The gold coins, in fact, are very rare. The use of nickle by a certain Euthydemus, as also by Pantaleon and Agathocles, led Prof. Macdonald to conclude that this Euthydemus is to be placed chronologically near Pantaleon and Agathocles, and must, therefore, be a second ruler of that name. The metal was not used by Demetrius I and, therefore, was not used by his predecessor, Euthydemus I. This alloy, according to him, is characteristic of a short epoch, and was not used anywhere else in the world for coinage until very recent times.¹

2. DENOMINATION

Coins of lower denominations have come down to us in much larger numbers than those of higher ones. The existence of higher denomination coins, such as gold staters and silver drachms and tetradrachms, may indicate greater prosperity. Some scholars believe that these were struck for use by Greek ruling circles. In this context a twenty stater gold piece of Eukratides² needs special mention, since it is the biggest coin found so far of any Greek prince. No Indo-Greek prince after Eukratides except, perhaps, Menander, is known to have issued gold currency.³

1. C. H. I., p. 448.

2. Discovered at Bokhara, now in Cabinet de France, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

3. See L.M. Cat., Introduction to Section I, p. 5.

3. SHAPE AND DESIGN

It appears that the fashions in shape as also in design changed very gradually. Sudden changes were not common.

We find that on Bactrian and early Indo-Greek coins, e. g. on those of Diodoti, Euthydemus I, Demetrius I and the latter's brothers and sons, a dotted circle lines the border. Eukratides was the first to break from this tradition and adopt the Seleucid 'bead-and-reel' border on his coinage. Thus associating dotted circle with earlier kings and 'bead-and-reel' border with those coming after Eukratides, we can assign approximate dates to kings whose chronology is otherwise unknown.⁴

4. LEGEND

On the coins of Euthydemus and his predecessors in Bactria the legend is invariably in Greek letters. No Indian script appears on them. Bilingual legends appear for the first time presumably on the coins of the former's son and successor, Demetrius. Kharoshthī legends on the reverse of the latter's coins⁵ are a sure indication of the fact that his dominions now included the Kharoshthī-using peoples of the north-western Indian provinces of Afghanistan and Sindh. This is corroborated by the testimony of classical writers who refer to cities established by Demetrius in India. Isidore of Charax refers to an Arachosian city, Demetrias.⁶ The Mahābhāṣya and the Vyākaraṇa of Kramadīśvara mention

4. A.D.H. Bivar reports the discovery in Qunduz hoard of a coin of Demetrius I with bead-and-reel border. Cf. his Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz, J.N.S.I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 39. Since Demetrius and Eukratides were contemporaries, the former seems to have imitated the latter on one of his late types.

5. L. M. C., Sect. I. no. 26. Some scholars believe that the bilingual coins were all issued by Demetrius II, the second son and a sub-king of Demetrius I. In either case the coins were issued on behalf of the latter.

6. Isidore 19, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 830.

a city, Dattāmitrī, in Sauvīra, i. e. modern Sindh.⁷ The Mahābhārata calls Demetrius and Apollodotus kings of Sauvīra.⁸

5. SIGNIFICANCE OF BRAĀHMĪ LEGENDS

Appearance of Brāhmī legend on the coins of a ruler should, for the same reason, indicate his connection with the comparative interior of India. And scholars have hastened to draw such conclusions. On the assumption that the westernmost limit of Brāhmī ended somewhere in the east Panjab, they have placed such coins and also the rulers who issued them in this part of the country. But this assumption as also these conclusions are fallacious. Brāhmī script is known to have been in use as far west as the country of the Aśvakas. The Vatasvaka coins attributed to these people invariably carry Brāhmī legends.⁹ This tribe occupied a large part of western Gandhāra including the Swat Valley. Strangely enough, the Indo-Greeks seem to have had a particular antipathy to the Brāhmī script. In the whole range of Indo-Greek coinage this script appears only on a type each of Pantaleon¹⁰ and Agathocles.¹¹ These types were minted at Pushkalāvatī, a city included in the Aśvaka country. The two types are exactly similar, except for the names of the two princes who ruled one after the other for a brief period in the Pushkalāvatī region as governors of their father, Demetrius.

The appearance of Brāhmī legends on their Pushkalāvatī Nagara-devatā types is, therefore, significant. How offensive the Brāhmī script was to the Greek mind is revealed by the fact that even Menander, whose

7. Ind. Ant., 1911, Foreign Elements in Hindu Population ; Bombay Gaz., I. ii. 11. 176, Kramadīśvara, p 796, References from Raychaudhuri, Political Hist. of Ancient Ind , p. 319.

8. Adi Parvan, 138, 20-23.

9. B.M.C., India, pp. cxlvii-cxlviii.

10. L. M. C., Sec. I. p. 16, no. 35, Pl. II.

11. Ibid., no. 45, Pl. II.

dominions possibly extended as far east as Śākala and who embraced Buddhism, did not use this script even once on his coins. On all bilingual coins of the Indo-Greeks, with the exception of the two in question, Kharoshṭhi script is universally used. Presumably, it was less offensive to the Greek mind than Brāhmī. In fact, all foreign invaders, such as the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and the Hūṇas, who followed in the footsteps of the Indo-Greeks, adopted Kharoshṭhi more readily. The working of the western mind is also revealed by the attitude of the British rulers of India in recent times towards the descendants of the Brāhmī script. In defiance of the popular sentiments, they gave recognition only to the Persian script.

Hindu rulers, on the other hand, rarely if ever, used the Kharoshṭhi script. Kharoshṭhi records of Indian citizens can be counted on fingers, and almost always have Buddhist associations.¹² It is obvious that the Brāhmī script was more intensely national than Kharoshṭhi. That explains Greek antipathy to it.

Then, how was it that Pantaleon and Agathocles were constrained to adopt Brāhmī, and that too on the obverse of their coins, relegating the Greek legend to the reverse, when on all the other issues, including those for use in the neighbouring Kāpiśa, they consistently refused to accept Brāhmī. The explanation is provided by a significant statement in the Mahābhārata¹³ to the effect that a certain Yavana prince of Sauvīra endeavoured for three years to

12. Two Aśokan inscriptions, viz., those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, some records in north-western India of Buddhist donors, and Kharoshṭhi legends on a few bilingual coins of the Audumbara and Kuṇinda tribes of the Panjab (cf. B.M.C., India, Intro. p. cxxix; and Pt. G.H. Ojha, Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā, p. 32) are about all the cases that can be cited.

13. Ādi Parvan, 138. 20 :

त्रिवर्ष-कृत्-यत्नस्तु गांधाराणामुपल्लवे ।
अर्जुनप्रमुखैः पाथैः सौचीरः समरे हतः ॥

quell the rebellion of the Gandhāra people. The Yavana prince of Sauvīra, i. e., Sindh, is described in a subsequent verse¹⁴ by two alternative names, e. g. Sumitra and Dattāmitra, obviously Sanskritised versions of Demetrius' name. The freedom-loving Afghans must have revolted soon after the advance of Demetrius into Sauvīra. The event took place before the rise of Eukratides, and before the princes of the Indian ruling house, identified with Arjuna and his brothers in order to fit them in the Mahābhārata context, led their retaliatory campaigns into the Panjab and the North-West. 189-187 B. C. seems to be a fair estimate of the date of this revolt. Pantaleon and Agathocles seem to have had a hard time in trying to placate the turbulent Afghans. Adoption of Brāhmī was one of the measures taken to satisfy the intensely patriotic feelings of these people. Brāhmī was the national script of the Aśvakas or Aśvagaṇas (i. e., Afghans). The Vatasvaka coins from Swat, issued by one section of the Aśvakas, invariably bear Brāhmī legends.¹⁵

Pantaleon, whose meagre coinage suggests a brief reign, seems to have been killed in the Afghan revolt. This fits in with the fact that he did not issue any propaganda type. Agathocles succeeded him in Gandhāra region and continued to strike his Brāhmī types for circulation among the Aśvagaṇas. Hence no geographical conclusions need be drawn from Brāhmī legends.

6. PORTRAIT

Indo-Greek coins, by and large, are fine specimens of art. The portraits are so life-like that we can easily detect the probable age at which the king was being portrayed.

14. *Ādi Parvan*, 138. 23 :

दत्तामित्रमिति ख्यातं संग्रामे कृतनिश्चयम् ।

सुमित्रं नाम सौवीरमर्जुनोऽदमयच्छरैः ॥

15. B.M.C., India, Intro., pp. cxlvii-cxlviii and p. 264.

Youthful portrait of Euthydemus I of Bactria on one set of coins and his appearance as a man of ripe age on another set indicates a long reign.¹⁶ Menander and Strato I, both began to issue coins at a very young age ; their earliest portraits represent them as boys in their teens.¹⁷ Strato lived up to a ripe old age. His coin-portraits represent him in all stages of life right up to a hoary old age with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks.¹⁸ Detecting similarity in the half-mocking smile portrayed on the faces of Antimachus Theos on one of his issues¹⁹ and Euthydemus on a pedigree coin of Agathokles,²⁰ Dr. Tarn concluded that those two kings were related in blood.²¹ Eukratides' portrait on some of his coins with drawn spear²² is reminiscent of his incessant struggles against Demetrius.

Elephant scalp as head dress is characteristic of Demetrius I. Whenever it reappears we are inclined to associate the ruler with the family of Demetrius. Equally striking is the portrait of Antimachus Theos in a modern looking causia.²³ Undraped shoulders are characteristic of an epoch which ended with Demetrius. Eukratides' busts, with shoulders sometimes draped and sometimes bare,²⁴ show the transitional stage. This knowledge helps us in assigning obscure rulers to one or the other of these two epochs. Undiademed head of a certain Heliocles on the jugate types of Eukratides²⁵ indicates that this Heliocles was a commoner, and hence was the father of Eukratides rather than his son, whose own coins with diademed busts are known.

16. Compare his portrait on C.H.I., Pl. III. 1 and III. 2.

17. Pl. III. 6-7 and B.M.C., Pl. XI, nos. 8 and 9. for Menander and Pl. IV. 3-4 and A. K. Narain, Indo-Greeks, Pl. III for Strato.

18. Pl. IV. 6-7 and Indo-Greeks, Pl. III nos. 1-12.

19. Pl. II. 1; C.H.I., Pl. III. 8.

20. Pl. III. 5; C. H. I., Pl. IV. 2 and Tarn, G.B.I., Pl. II.

21. G. B. I., p. 75.

22. Pl. VI. 4; C.H.I., Pl. IV. 6; Narain, Indo-Greeks, Pl. II. 1.

23. Pl. II. 1; C.H.I., Pl. III. 8; Narain, op. cit., Pl. I. 8.

24. Pl. V. 1-4; C.H.I., Pl. IV. 3-6.

25. Pl. V. 1; C.H.I., Pl. IV. 3; Narain, op. cit., Pl. II. 1.

CHAPTER III DIVINITIES¹

I. CITY OR NAGARA-DEVATĀ

1. Kāpiśī Devatā

Indo-Greek coins, as a rule, bear the figure or symbol of some god or goddess. Normally such portraits are not accompanied by descriptive legends. It is only on two coins that we find the divinity being introduced in the legend. One of them was issued by Eukratides.² This is the earliest recorded reference to a city divinity on Indo-Greek coins. The type is :

Obverse : Helmeted bust of king to r. L. BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ,
above, ME[AΛΟΥ, and r. EYKPATIΔΟΥ.

Reverse : Zeus sitting on throne to front, holds wreath
and palm; to r. of throne forepart of elephant, and
to l. a mountain; above this an indistinct
monogram. Kh. legend beginning from r. and going
round the coin : *Kaviṣiye nagara devatā*.

This coin thus connects Zeus, associated with elephant
and mountain, with the city of Kāpiśī. This Zeus must be
distinguished from the one on the coins of Diodoti, who did
not rule over Kāpiśī. The association of an elephant with
Zeus would be inexplicable unless we admit that the Olympian
god is identified here with his Indian counterpart,
Indra, whose association with the elephant Airāvata
is well known in Indian mythology. We cannot
imagine Eukratides introducing this combination into the
city, since it does not exist in Greek mythology. Instead,
on arrival he must have found Indra with Airāvata being

1. See Appendix I for an introduction to the Greek divinities referred to in this Chapter.

2. Pl. V. 5; C.H.I., p. 590, Pl. VII. 36; L. M. C. See. I, no. 131,
Pl. III.

worshipped at Kāpiśī. The very fact that the divinity is introduced in the local language and script, instead of in Greek, speaks for itself. He identified this god with his own national god Zeus and adopted him together with his elephant as a design for his coins. The political motive must have been to win over the Indian citizens to his cause, giving them the impression that he was one of them. But to his Greek followers he wanted to give the impression that he was actually adopting a Greek god for his design and so he added a symbol for mount Olympus. It was as essential for his cause to retain the loyalty of his Greek followers as to win new sympathisers among the local population. Of the two great Indian religions—the Paurānic and the Buddhistic—the latter seems to have been espoused by the rival Greek house. So he had no choice, but to direct his efforts towards winning over the followers of the Paurānic religion, which, incidentally was also the religion of his natural ally, Pushyamitra. The Pushkalāvati Nagar Devatā coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles³ and the elephant and bull type of Apollodotus⁴ might also have been moves in the direction of winning the loyalty of the local people.

Enthroned Zeus with forepart of an elephant appears on a silver issue of Antialkidas.⁵ Zeus holds in r. hand a small figure of Nike, who holds palm and wreath towards which the elephant extends its trunk. This design occurs on a copper coin of Mauves also.⁶ These two coins, too, have been associated with Kāpiśī.⁷ By the time of Antialkidas the two factions among the Greeks had crystallised to such an extent that there was no fear of individual members of either shifting loyalty to the opposite

3. I.M.C. Sec. I, under Pantaleon and Agathocles, Pl. II. 1.

4. L. M. C., Sec. I, p. 40, no. 233; also see ibid., Pl. IV.

5. Pl. VI. 5; also I.M.C., p. 15, Sec. I, no. 1, Pl. III. 7; L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 167-72, Pl. III.

6. B.M.C., p. 70, no. 14.

7. C.H.I., p. 591.

camp. Each side understood the position clearly. Hence it was felt unnecessary to retain the mount Olympus in the design and it disappeared. The god of Kāpiśī did not have such a close association with a mountain after all. Still a Greek touch was given by introducing Nike standing on the outstretched hand of Zeus.

Zeus enthroned emblem appears on the coins of Heliocles,⁸ Amyntas,⁹ Hermaeus¹⁰ and Spalirises.¹¹

While discussing another type, namely, Zeus with thunderbolt, Prof. H. K. Deb,¹² though following different logic, has arrived at the same conclusion about the identity of this god. He, too, identifies him in this particular type with Indra or Śakra or Vajrapāṇi, the names used for this god in the Paurāṇic and Buddhist mythology. "Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra," says Prof. Deb, "invariably depicts a thunder-bearing figure known under the name Vajrapāṇi as attending on Buddha; in later times, Vajrapāṇi appears as a Bodhisattva. He seems to have been originally nothing less than thundersing Indra who was made subordinate to Buddha when Buddhism gained the uppermost hand in this area.....With the advent of Buddha into a region where the cult of Rainy Indra prevailed, there was evolved the dual divinity, Buddha-Indra; and that the Buddhist artistsmade Indra an attendant on Buddha. It is noteworthy that the occurrence of Vajrapāṇi as an invariable attendant upon Buddha is characteristic of Graeco-Buddhist art.....a circumstance pointing to Gandhāra and proximate regions, colonised most profusely by Greek settlers, as the cradle of

8. B.M.C., p. 166, no. 2, Pl. XXXI, 1 : Rev.; Zeus enthroned and Greek legend.

9. I.M.C., p. 31, Sec. I, no. 1, Pl. VI. 9.

10. Pl. IV. 9; I.M.C., p. 32, Sec. I, type I, Pl. VI. 12-13. There are many varieties.

11. Ibid., p. 43, Sec. II, nos. 1-6, Pl. VIII. 8.

12. I.H.Q., 1934, p. 521.

this dual divinity." Prof. Deb refers to Yuan Chwang¹³ who "associates the Swat Valley region, called U-Chang-na, with a tale of Buddha 'where he was Śakra', i. e. Indra". "Perhaps the fusion of the two cults", concludes Prof. Deb, "was helped by recognition of affinity between Śakra and Śākyā."

Thus we are on fairly sure ground when we identify Zeus on both the types (Zeus enthroned and Zeus with thunderbolt) with Indra and locate him round about Kāpiśī. The following are the types on which Indra Vajrapāṇi or Zeus Ombrios (i. e. the Rainy) figures, though no descriptive legend connecting them with a city accompanies :—

1. Two silver types of Heliocles, one with Greek legend only and the other with Greek and Kharoshthī legends. In both, the figure of Vajrapāṇi-Zeus is identical. He stands, facing, wearing himation, holding thunderbolt in right and long sceptre in left hand. The king's title is ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ or *dhramika*. The Greek legend type is in Attic weight standard and the bilingual one is in Indian weight standard.¹⁴

2. A silver type of Archebius.¹⁵ This is the only Indo-Greek type where Zeus is on the point of hurling his thunderbolt.¹⁶

This type reappeared afterwards on the coins of Vonones group, found more plentifully at Kandahar than at Begram or the Panjab, and again on the coins of Gondophares group.¹⁷

13. Beal, Records etc., p. 125, cf. Deb in I.H.Q., 1934, p. 521.

14. See I.M.C., p. 13, Sec. I, nos. 1 and 3 respectively; L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 133-42 for the pure Greek type and nos. 145-47 for the bilingual one. Also see infra, Pl. VI. 1.

15. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 225-29, Pl. IV.

16. H.K. Deb, op. cit, p. 522.

17. See C.H.I., p. 590.

2: Pushkalāvatī Devatā

The other coin on which a city divinity is expressly introduced is a gold piece issued by an unnamed prince.¹⁸ The type is :

Obv. : R. Kh. legend, *Pakhalavadi devata* ;

l. broken and illegible Kh. legend. City goddess wearing a mural crown, holding in r. hand a lotus flower, and under l. arm a spear.

Rev. : Above, Greek legend, TAYPOC; below, Kh: *ushabhe*. Indian bull facing right.

The Kharoshthī legend which means "Goddess of Pushkalāvatī leaves no doubt that Pushkalāvatī, i.e. the lotus-bearing goddess, is to be located in the city of the same name. We can safely assume that the city must have grown round a temple of the Lotus-bearing goddess and was named in her honour. Unfortunately, in this coin the die was not properly adjusted with the result that the obverse legend to the left fell partly off the coin and the three (or perhaps two) half-traced letters cannot be read. According to H. K. Deb,¹⁹ "the name of the divinity may lie hidden in the three broken Kharoshthī letters to the left."

The reverse design of Indian bull may perhaps give a clue to her identity. It may almost certainly have been obtained from the temple of the goddess. The "Tauros" or "Ushabhe" (Skt. Vṛishabha) must be Nandī, the bull of Śiva and hence the goddess can safely be identified with Durgā or Kālī. Nandī is also to be assigned to Pushkalāvatī. That the goddess is Durgā is further confirmed by the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles,²⁰ where her mount, the lion, appears on the other side of the coin. It may be remembered

18. Pl. VI. 6. See Pl. VI. 7 for an enlarged obverse. Also C.H.I., Pl. VI. 10 and its description on p. 587.

19. I.H.Q., X, 1934, p. 510.

20. I.M.C., Sec. I.

that Durgā is called Simhavāhanā or Simhayānā.²¹ Now that we are almost certain that the goddess is Kālī, we can descipher the half traced letters  . The first is almost complete and can be read as *ka* and the last appears to be *la* and the stroke in between, which Mr. Deb suspects to be an independent letter is the first leg of *la*. Thus we get the word *Kala* or *Kali*. The broken letters can be restored as.

 . But the Mātrās are rare in Kharoshthī and those of ā and ī are totally missing.²² Hence the appearance of only the Mātrā of short *i* in *la* in *Kali* and *ta* in Pakhalavati. The coin bears no monogram. The form C of the Greek letter sigma is rather a late one and the coin may be assigned to the Parthian or Kushāṇa period.²³

This city goddess and the Indian bull appear either singly or in combination on many coins. But nowhere else the city goddess is specifically associated with a town in the legend as it is done on this coin. The coins on which both of them appear in combination are those of:

1. The Śaka king Azes.²⁴

21. See Apte's Dictionary.

22. See G. H. Ojha, Bharātiya Prāchīna Lipi-māla, Pls. LXV—LXX.

23. Compare, Gondophares and Soter Megas coins in the L. M. Catalogue. P. L. Gupta. The city Goddess of Pushkalāvati, J.N.S.I., XX, 1958, p. 69 and Pl. I, mentions that D. D. Kasambi obtained an enlarged photograph, five times the original, of the small coin in British Museum; and having restored the illegible letters as

 , he read them Ambī, which may stand for

Ambikā. Though arrived at from different premises this conclusion agrees with mine, inasmuch as Ambikā is another name of the goddess Kālī. But I cannot agree with another assertion of P. L. Gupta, namely, that the object in r. hand of the goddess is held in a grip and may be a club rather than a flower. We cannot dissociate the goddess of Pushkalāvati from Pushkala or lotus.

24. B. M. C., p. 85, no. 137, Pl. XIX. 5; L.M.C. Sec. II, no. 308, Pl. XII. identification of the goddess as Lakshmī here is evidently wrong.

The obverse type of this copper coin is : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΩΥ. Goddess standing to front with flower in raised r. hand. To l. complex Kh. mon., to r. mon. 139.

The reverse type is : Kh. legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*. Humped bull to r. To r. Kh. vi:

The divinities on this coin connect it beyond doubt with Pushkalāvatī.

2. The other coin on which they appear in combination are perhaps those of Pheloxenos.²⁵ The goddess has been identified by Gardner as Demeter (the goddess of tillage and corn) holding cornukopiae (i. e. the horn of plenty) in her left hand. The presence of bull on the reverse points to Pushkalāvatī, but the absence of flower in her hand leaves room for doubt. But this can be explained by the well-known Greek tendency to identify local deities with those of their own pantheon.

On the following coins the lotus-bearing goddess appears in combination with her own mount, namely, a maneless lion :

1. An oblong copper coin of Pantaleon.²⁶

Obv. : Maneless lion, standing to r. incuse square. Legend, above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, below ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Rev. : Female deity, clad in loose robe and trousers, with long ear-rings; flower in r. hand; no mon. Legend in peculiar Brāhmī characters, r. *rajane*, 1. *Patalevasha*.

2. An exactly similar coin of Agathocles²⁷ with the only difference that Agathocles' name appears in both the Greek as well as Brāhmī legends in place of Pantaleon's.

25. B M.C., p. 57, no. 13, Pl. XIII 10; L.M.C. Sec. I, no. 584; I.M.C., Sec. I, p. 30.

26. I.M.C., Sec. I, p. 60, Pl. II. 1.

27. Ibid., p. 10, Pl. II. 2.

These two coins were, no doubt, minted at Pushkalāvatī. The presence of flower in the hand of the goddess leaves no room for doubt. These two are the earliest Pushkalāvatī coins to have come down to us. These coins place another interesting fact at our disposal, namely, that the maneless lion type is also to be connected with Pushkalāvatī. It is natural to conjecture that Dionysos motif in "Dionysos : leopard or maneless lion" type of Agathocles²⁸ was also taken from the Pushkalāvatī temple which was dedicated to Śiva and Kālī.²⁹ It is well known that the Greeks identified Śiva with Dionysos, as they did Vishṇu with Herakles. All these motifs on the local coins must have been taken, as already stated, from the temple standing in that town of Lotus-Wielding Kālī.³⁰ This fact gives us an indication that the "maneless lion : Indian bull" type of Azes' coins must also be assigned to Pushkalāvatī; lion symbolising Durgā and bull representing Śiva. Azes struck many issues of this type, differing only in Greek and Kharoshṭī monograms.³¹ Curiously, the most common Kharoshṭī monograms on this type are *sasi* or *si*, which may stand for Sadāśiva and Śiva respectively indicating that the temple or shrine at Pushkalāvatī was sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī. Another Kharoshṭī letter on one of these coins in front of the bull is *pha*,³² which may be an abbreviation for Phaṇīndra or Phaṇipati, another designation of Śiva. On another issue³³ the Kh. letter is *a* which may stand for Ambā, or Aparṇā, names

29. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 43, Pl. II,

30. Commenting on Pantaleon's coins in I.H.Q., X. 1934, p. 510, Prof. H.K. Dev observes that the device maneless lion seems to have been suggested by the personal name, Pantaleon, since Greek 'panta' stands for all and 'leon' for lion. But the device could not have been adopted only for its association with the king's name, if it lacked association with some accepted divinity.

31. See I.M.C., Sec. II, pp. 45-46, Azes type 7, nos. 34-48 a; also L.M.C., Sec. II, nos. 267-82 and relevant plates.

32. I.M.C., Sec. II, p. 46, no. 48.

33. Ibid., no. 43.

of Pārvatī. If these interpretations are correct, we can safely assume that Kharoshthī *ka* on another coin of this series³⁴ stands for Kālī. It is interesting to note some 18 or more Greek monograms on this type of Azes I, clearly refuting the connection of monograms with mints or cities.

The city goddess with palm in left hand and flower in right on the reverse of a copper coin of Peukolaos³⁵ must also be connected with this city. The name, too, of this Greek prince seems to have some sort of association with Peukolaotis, the Greek form of Pushkalāvatī. This coin adds another monogram, e. g. no. 66, to the Pushkalāvatī-devatā types.

I have a suspicion that 'Demeter with the horn of plenty' is, in fact, 'Durgā with a lotus-stalk' and is identical with Pushkalāvatī devatā. If at all it is to be accepted as Demeter, it is another attempt on the part of the Greek princes to connect a local deity with one of their own pantheon. In either case the coins with this type should be located at Pushkalāvatī. The coins are :

1. Philoxenos' "City and bull" type.³⁶ The description of one is :

Obv.: 'City' (Gardner; 'Demeter or Tyche', v. Sallet) standing l., with r. hand advanced and cornucopiae in l., mon. uncertain. Legend l. top and r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.: Humped bull standing r., no mon., imperfect Kharoshthī legend, *maharajasa apadihadasa Philasinasa*.

2. Hippostratos' silver round coin, type³⁷ : bust of king : goddess with cornucopiae.

34. L.M.C., Sec. II, no. 274.

35. Ibid., Sec. I, no. 642.

36. I. M. C., Sec. I, p. 30, nos. 3-6.

37. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 604-9, See. Pl. VIII

These coins, particularly "Pushkalāvatī devatā : Indian bull" type³⁸ and "maneless lion : City" type of Pantaleon and Agathocles³⁹ and "Dionysos : maneless lion" type of Agathocles⁴⁰ place the following information in our hands :

In the city of Pushkalāvatī, possibly on the banks of the river Suvāstu, which was also known as Pushkalāvatī at this spot,⁴¹ there stood a famous temple sacred to Śiva and Kālī. The statues of both Śive and Kālī were established inside the temple (*garbhagṛīha*) whereas their mounts Nandi bull and the lion stood outside, near the door, exactly as we find them to-day in Indian temples. The assumption that the temple did not contain the statues of the divinities in riding positions is based on the fact that nowhere on coins are they depicted in this position. Occasionally, the divinities were symbolised merely by their mounts. Accordingly, the lion and the bull alone appear as motifs on some of the coins. Thus various combinations of these divinities and their mounts appear on the coins. We are on fairly safe grounds when we locate the coins with one or more of these emblems in Pushkalāvatī. That is the reason that I am inclined to identify "Demeter with the horn of plenty" with goddess Kālī, whose association with the bull is more natural. The coins bearing one or more of these emblems, apart from those referred to above, are :—

1. A copper piece of Heliocles, type : bust of king : humped bull.⁴²
2. A copper piece of Apollodotos, type : humped bull : tripod.⁴³
3. A copper square piece of Diomedes⁴⁴ (138 B.C. to 135 B.C.) :—

38. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 10.

39. I. M. C., Sec., I, Pl., II, 1-2.

40. I. M. C. Sec. I, no. 43.

41. Cf. Kaśikā on Pāṇini, IV. 2.85 ; VI. 1.219 and VI.3.II9.

42. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 149, Pl. III.

43. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 318, p. 45.

44. I. M. C. Sec. I, p. 17, type 3, Pl. III. 10.

Obv.: Dioscuroi standing facing, holding lances.
 Legend, 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r.
 ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev.: Humped bull, standing r.; mon. 112, Kharoshthi
 legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*,
 1. *Diyamedasa*.

Here it should be remembered that the Dioscuroi (Aśvinīkumāras of the Indian mythology) were the family gods of the house of Eukratides, just as Heracles was the family god of the house of Euthydemus. They should not be confused with the nagara-devatās. Humped bull representing the nagara-devatā of Pushkalāvatī on this coin gives the location of the mint or capital city.

4. A silver piece of Hippostratus⁴⁵:

Obv.: Bust of king r., diad., legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
 ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ below.

Rev.: City, wearing modius, l., with r. hand advanced, and holding cornucopiae in l.; mon. 35 and the Kharoshthi letter *a*. Kharoshthi legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Hipahratasa*.

Among the Śaka coins assignable to this city, those of Azes with "flower-bearing goddess: humped bull" type⁴⁶, and "bull and lion" type⁴⁷ have already been referred to. His "Demeter : Hermes" type,⁴⁸ too, I suspect, belongs to Pushkalāvatī, because the Kh. legend invariably is *sasi* or *si* which I propose to interpret as Sadāsiva and Śiva respectively. Hermes with caduceus and Śiva with snakes may fuse into one in the Śaka mind to whom both the gods were foreign. His "lion : Demeter" type may also be

45. I. M. C., Sec. I. p. 30, Pl. VI. 6; date assigned here: about 120 B. C.

46. L. M. C., Sec. II, no. 308, Pl. XII.

47. I. M. C., Sec., II, nos. 34-48, Pl. VIII, 14.

48. Ibid., nos. 49-58, Pl. VIII. 15.

noted.⁴⁹ Two more of Azes types should with confidence be assigned to Pushkalāvatī namely "king on horseback : humped bull"⁵⁰ and "king on horseback : lion."⁵¹

Azilises' type "king on horseback : humped bull"⁵² and "mounted king : god and goddess with cornucopiae"⁵³ should also be located here. Prof. Rapson⁵⁴ identifies the god on this type with Zeus, and the goddess with the Pushkalāvatī devatā. It will be more logical to identify them with Śiva and Kālī. Their association will appear natural. On two types of billon coins of Gondophares Śiva appears in his Indian form equipped with his trident. I propose to locate this type also⁵⁵ at Pushkalāvatī. It may be seen that in earlier coins Śiva is represented only by his bull. Azilises was the first to introduce him in association with Kālī. And now for the first time he figures alone on Gondophares' coin. This may indicate that in the beginning the Pushkalāvatī temple was sacred to Kālī alone, Śiva appearing only as a secondary deity. He was represented in the temple by his *linga* and his bull. Later on his image was added. By the time of Gondophares he assumed considerable importance. To the end of the Greek-Śaka-Parthian period, or rather to the beginning of the Kushan period belongs the "Śiva : City with cornucopiae" type of Soter Megas.⁵⁶ Whitehead has rightly conjectured the nude deity to be Śiva.

Azes II type "king on horseback : goddess" with Kharoshṭhī monogram, *shegasha*, may also belong to this city.

49. L. M. C., Sec. II, no. 220.

50. I. M. C., Sec. II, nos. 79-82, Pl. IX. 1, p. 48; L.M.C., Sec. II, nos. 290-304, Pl. XII.

51. I. M. C. Sec. II, p. 48, no. 87, Pl. IX. 3.

52. Ibid., p. 49, nos. 7-8.

53. L. M. C., Sec., II, no. 334, Pl. XIII.

54. Notes on Indian Coins and Seals, Part VI.

55. See L. M. C. Sec. II, nos. 42-45, Pl. XV.

56. Ibid., no. 113, Pl. XVI.

Then there are a number of types on which one of the emblems of Pushkalāvatī is associated with that of another city. This probably indicates some sort of association—political, economic and administrative—between the two cities. To this class belong the following types :

1. A square silver coin of Apollodotus, type "elephant : humped bull."⁵⁷

We have seen that the elephant forms part of the emblem of Kāpiśi. Thus on the present coin the association of the two emblems may indicate that the two cities were located within the same satrapy. This type must have been issued before Eukratides occupied these areas.

2. Epander's "Nike : humped bull" type.⁵⁸ Nike or Victory was, most probably, the nagara-devatā of the city founded by Alexander somewhere between Kāpiśi and Pushkalāvatī.

3. "Elephant : humped bull" types of Maues.⁵⁹

4. "Elephant : humped bull" types of Azes.⁶⁰

5. "Elephant : humped bull" type of Azilises.⁶¹

3. Nike and Hekate

No other type is expressly connected with any city or locality. But from the evidence of the Kāpiśi and Pushkalāvatī types we can infer that certain other deities on Indo-Greek coins, too, were sacred to particular cities. Of these Nike can be located with a fair amount of certainty.

Nike is located by scholars in Nicaea, the city planted by Alexander on the south bank of the Jhelum to commemorate his victory over Porus. Apart from the name

57. Ibid., p. 40, Sec. I ; no. 233, Pl. IV.

58. Ibid., Sec. I, no. 517, Pl. VI.

59. Ibid., Sec. II, nos. 32 and 34, Pl. X.

60. Ibid., nos. 283-88, Pl. XII.

61. Ibid., nos. 363-64, Pl. XIV

of the city, there is no evidence to support this theory. We have enough evidence to locate Nike in the neighbourhood of Kāpiśī. We have already seen that Zeus was the city god of Kāpiśī. Nike is frequently associated on coins with this god, indicating that the two deities belonged to neighbouring cities. We have the testimony of Arrian⁶² to the effect that Alexander had established his first Nikaea somewhere along the road between Alexandra-Kāpiśī and Kabul (Κωφηνα). Apart from Alexander historians, Nikaea on the Jhelum is not heard of anywhere in literature. It is clear that the city never took root. But Nikaea between Kāpiśī and Kabul had every chance to flourish because of large Greek settlements in this area. And to this city must the goddess Nike be assigned. Her association with Nikaea on the Jhelum is untenable on other grounds also. She figures on the coins of Antimachus Theos, Eukratides and Hermaeus,⁶³ none of whom, it is patent, had anything to do with the country east of the Indus, and no mint of theirs can be located near the Jhelum i. e. in an area outside their dominions.

It may also be probable that Nike on some coins commemorates a victory, small or big. In that age of incessant warfare and petty feuds, battles were frequently won and lost. Or in some cases, she merely proclaims the ambitions of a ruler to win victories.

But when Prof. H. K. Deb,⁶⁴ after locating Nike at Nikaea on the south bank of Jhelum, goes on to locate another type, namely, "King on prancing horse", in Bucephala, another city established by Alexander across the Jhelum, just opposite Nicaea, he overestimates our credulity. Even Mohammad Tughlaq would not have

62. IV, 22.6, cf. C.H.I. p. 348 and n. 3.

63. L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 19, type (β) of Antimachus Theos, p 26, type (γ) and J.N.S.I., XVI, p. 304, no. 8 of Eukratides; L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 682-92, Pl. IX of Hermaeus.

64. I.H.Q.. 1934, p. 514,

gone to the extent of establishing a second mint when one was already functioning just across the river.

Nike is associated with Zeus on the following types :

1. Antialkidas' "bust of king : Zeus Nikephoros" types.⁶⁵ The first type (no. 167) is :

Obv. : Diad. bust of king to r., wearing flat causia; Gk. legend above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ below, ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. : Zeus seated l.; in l. hand long sceptre, which rests over l. shoulder; on outstretched r. hand he bears Nike holding palm, but her wreath has just been snatched away from her by an elephant retiring to l. in l. field; in r. field mon. 69.

We have already located Zeus with elephant (Indra with Airāvata or Vajrapāṇī) at Kāpiśī.⁶⁶

2. Antialkidas.⁶⁷

Obv. : Diad. bust to r. : usual bilingual legends.

Rev. Elephant marching to l. with uplifted trunk; Nike on its head, and Zeus by its side, mon. 112.

3. Amyntas. Type.⁶⁸ :

Obv. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ. Diad. bust of king to r.

Rev. : *Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amitasa.* Zeus with long sceptre seated to l. on throne; Nike on his outstretched r. hand ; to l. mon. 69.

Three-headed Hekate, held by Zeus on his palm, appears only once on the Indo-Greek coins. The coin is a

65. Pl. VI. 5; L.M.C. Sec. I., nos. 167-92, Pl. III, three types.

66. *Supra*, Kāpiśī type.

67. L.M.C., Sec. I, unrepresented type no. (ii),

68. *Ibid.*, no. 635, Pl. VIII

silver issue of Agathocles⁶⁹ bearing only Greek legend. According to Dr. Tarn,⁷⁰ "she is Hecate of the Three Ways, Τριόδιτης, who was worshipped at a τριόδος, a place where three roads met." He locates this τριόδος, on the authority of Alexander's bematists and Eratosthenes, at Alexandria-Kāpiśa where met the three routes across the Hindu Koh from Bactria. Dr. Tarn goes on to state, "Alexandria-Kāpiśa stood at the point of junction and doubtless Hecate of the Three Ways was worshipped there; and the fact that she stands on the hand of Zeus proves that Zeus of these coins was the god of Kāpiśa, that, therefore, Alexandria-Kāpiśa at the τριόδος was the seat of Pantaleon and Agathocles, and that they were, therefore, successively sub-kings of the Paropamisadae."

Dr. Tarn's conclusions appear fairly reasonable. But Hekate, though introduced in this coin as a guardian deity of Kāpiśa τριόδος, was not an object of general worship anywhere in this region. Otherwise she should have figured more often on coins. Her appearance on only one type each of Pantaleon and Agathocles⁷¹ rather suggests that she had no roots in the soil. It is quite possible that the mysterious goddess Hekate was later identified with Nike who so often figures on the palm of Zeus on Indo-Greek coins. Even in Greece she got mixed up with many other goddesses.

In the Śaka period the combination of Zeus and Nike, represented in various ways, became very common. L. M. Cat. records three such types of Maues,⁷² two types of Azes,⁷³ one of Azes and Azilises,⁷⁴ four of

69. Pl. III. 1; L.M.C., Section I, no. 42, Pl. II; C.H.I., Pl. III, 6.

70. G.B.I., p. 158.

71. Pl. II. 5 and III. 6.; C.H.I., Pl. III. 7 and 6 respectively.

72. L.M.C., Sec. II, types (α) and (β), and p. 103, unrepresented type (ν); Nike also figures in the two varieties of "horseman-Nike" types, p. 102.

73. Ibid., types (4) and (12), pp. 112 and 118 respectively.

74. Ibid., p. 132, unrepresented type (ii).

Azilises⁷⁵ and one of Parthian Gondophares.⁷⁶ In short every king of eminence used the device of "Zeus : Nike" on his coins during the Saka and Parthian rule.

Nike figures, independently or in association with other gods, on the following types of :

1. Antimachus Theos. Type, "elephant : winged Nike" ; legend in Greek only.⁷⁷
2. Eukratides. Type, "Helmeted bust of king : Nike bearing wreath and palm". Bilingual.⁷⁸
3. Archebius. Type, "Victory : owl."⁷⁹
4. Strato I. Type, "bust of Herakles : winged Nike with wreath and palm."⁸⁰
5. Menander. Types :
 - (a) "Bust of king : winged Nike with wreath and palm". Nike described as "asyncretic winged figure," because she is dressed like Artemis and wears the cap peculiar to the Dioscuroi.⁸¹
 - (b) "Pallas : winged Nike with palm and wreath."⁸²

In addition to these, there are three types of Menander not represented in L. M. Cat., namely :

- (a) "Bust of king : conventional figure of Nike."
- (b) "Pallas : Nike."⁸³
- (c) Like L. M. Cat. Section I, no. 482, but owl on the reverse.

75. Including two unrepresented types, see *ibid.*, pp. 133-34 and 141.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 148. See also his two "king: Nike" types.

77. *Ibid.*, Sec. I, no. 59.

78. *Ibid.*, no. 130.

79. B. M. C., Pl. IX. 6.

80. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 366-67, Pl. V.

81. *Ibid.*, no. 481.

82. *Ibid.*, nos. 482-90, Pl. VI.

83. B. M. C., Pl. XII, 1.

6. Epander. "Winged Nike with palm and wreath : humped bull."⁸⁴

7. Artemidorus : "Bust of king : winged Nike with palm and wreath."⁸⁵

8. Antimachus Nikephoros : "winged Nike with palm and fillet : king on horse."⁸⁶

9. Hermaeus : "Bust of king : winged Nike with palm and wreath."⁸⁷

II. FAMILY DIVINITY OR KULA-DEVATA

There is a tendency to assign a geographical location to every type ; and for this purpose very flimsy arguments have often been pressed into service. The real position seems to be that some of the gods on Indo-Greek coins were Kula-devatās or family divinities rather than Nagara-devatās or city divinities. Such, no doubt, were Herakles and Dioscuroi. Herakles figures on the coins of Euthydemus and other princes of his family. This god cannot be localised. Euthydemus, whose dominions were confined to Bactria and the surrounding territories, could have issued his coins only from that city. His predecessors in Bactria, namely the two Diodoti, invariably had "Zeus the Thunderer" on their coins. Herakles was never depicted on their coins or on those of Eukratides, who succeeded Euthydemus in Bactria even when the mon. 17 remains the same as on the coins of Euthydemus. The descendants of Euthydemus, e. g. Demetrius, Euthydemus II, Strato and Agathocleia, Strato I, Zoilus, Theophilus and Lysias (whose family connection has to be specially discussed) ruling over different territories adopted this god on their coins. We are quite certain that some of these rulers, e. g. Agathocleia and Strato I never

84. L. M. C., Sec., I, no. 517, Pl. VI.

85. Ibid., no. 553, Pl. VII.

86. Pl. III. 9; L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 557, Pl. VII.

87. Ibid., no. 682-92, Pl. IX.

ruled anywhere near Bactria. Their dominions were confined to central Panjab with Śākala (Sialkot) as capital. Hence Herakles was not connected with any particular city. On the other hand we are fairly certain that Demetrius, Agathocleia and Strato belonged to the family of Euthydemus. Others in the above list may also be scions of this family. Significantly none of these or others known to belong to the Euthydemid line, viz. Apollodotus, Pantaleon, Agathocles, Menander etc., ever adopted Dioscuroi, the Kula-devatās of the rival house of Eukratides. The latter gods and their emblems, e.g. pilei and palm, appear on the coins of Eukratides, Antialkidas, Diomedes and Archebius, who no doubt, must belong to a common house of rulers. Heliocles, son of Eukratides, did not adopt Dioscuroi who are so common on the coins of his father. The reason is to be found in the statement of Justin⁸⁸ to the effect that Eukratides' son rode to the throne over the blood of his father. Under the circumstances Heliocles could not be expected to pay due respect to his father's traditions.

In this context it is necessary to discuss the relationship of Lysias with Antialkidas. From their Kula-devatās they appear to belong to different, rather rival, families of rulers, since Herakles appears as the family god on the former's coins and Dioscuroi on the latter's. But the matter is complicated by the discovery of a copper coin in the joint names of Lysias and Antialkidas,⁸⁹ the former's name appearing in Greek letters on the obverse and the latter's in Kharoshṭī on the reverse. On such joint issues the king referred to on the Greek side is considered to be the more important one. He is the suzerain. And the one on the Kharoshṭī side is the subordinate; often he is the former's son ruling as his sub-king. Hence Lysias and Antialkidas ought to be regarded as father and son, or at least as the

88. XLI. 6.

89. B.M.C., Pl. XXXI, 2.

suzerain and a subordinate ruler. But the complete absence of Dioscuroi on the coins of Lysias and of Herakles on those of Antialkidas would rule out the relationship of father and son. This coin, in fact, is a mule. It was produced in the mint of Antialkidas. By mistake the mint-man pressed a wrong coin, that of Lysias, on his wet clay mould to obtain the obverse impression. On the reverse mould he pressed the right one, i. e. that of Antialkidas. This mould gave out the mule.

Pallas or Athene appears to be another Kula-devatā. First adopted by Demetrius, it continued to figure on the coins of his successors, namely Apollodotus, Menander,⁹⁰ Strato and Agathocleia, Strato I,⁹¹ Strato I and II,⁹² Polyxenos, Epander, Zoilus. Apollophanes and Amyntas. It must be noted that Dioscuroi and their emblems are completely absent from the coins of this group of princes, as it was on the coins of Herakles group. Thus Herakles and Pallas are the Kula-devatās of the Euthydemid family and Dioscuroi those of the family of Eukratides. The appearance of any one of them will give us the indication of the family to which an unknown Indo-Greek prince is to be assigned.

It is ludicrous to assign various postures of Herakles to various cities, as Prof. H. K. Deb does.⁹³ A divinity can be sacred to a city, but it is unbelievable that cities attached sanctity to only a particular posture of the god. Prof. Deb was obviously confused by the appearance of the same god, Herakles, in places far removed from one another, and tried to locate the nuances of style in different places.

Apollo is another popular god on Indo-Greek coins. He figures in several types, the chief among them being

90. 13 types are recorded in L. M. C. See also *infra*, Pl. III. 6-8.

91. At least 10 types are known.

92. Pl. IV. 6.

93. I. H. Q., 1934, pp. 516-20.

"Apollo : tripod." "Apollo : tripod" was first adopted by Euthydemus II.⁹⁴ This device also occurs on the coins of Apollodotus,⁹⁵ Strato I,⁹⁶ Dionysios,⁹⁷ Zoilus,⁹⁸ Hippostratus,⁹⁹ Strato I and Strato II.¹⁰⁰ It may again be noted that this device, like Herakles and Pallas, is also peculiar to the house of Euthydemus, the only exception being Eukratides himself, who introduced Apollo on two of his types. With the latter's solitary exception, none of the princes who used this device on his coins adopted Dioscuroi emblem of Eukratides' family. The conclusion is that either this came to be adopted as a family device in the reign of Apollodotus : or if it was peculiar to a city, that city never came under any of the princes of the Eukratides' family. As stated above, the god Apollo figures on two types of Eukratides.¹⁰¹ On this silver coin of Eukratides the legend is only in Greek letters. Hence the coin type must be placed north of the Hindu Koh. The same is true of the coins of Euthydemus II, which are made of nickle in one series and copper in the other. These cheap coins could not have been issued for the exclusive use of the Greek legionaries. All other coins with this device are bilingual, indicating that they were issued south of the Hindu Koh. Hence the type is not likely to have a geographical

94. L.M.C., sec I, nos. 29-33, Pl. I.

95. Pl. I, 7; L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 293-354, Pl. IV., with the exception of no. 318 where the type is 'bull: tripod', but has no Greek or Kharoshthī legend. As many as seven types are represented in the L.M.C. besides five unrepresented ones referred to.

96. Ibid., nos. 363-64.

97. Ibid., nos. 520-21, four types: two represented in L.M.C. including one with "Apollo : diadem", and two unrepresented.

98. Ibid., nos. 541-45, Pl. VII, one type represented, plus two unrepresented.

99. Ibid., nos. 622-28, two types.

100. Ibid., nos. 645-47, one type.

101. Ibid., no. 60, Pl. II, the type being "head of king : Apollo holding bow and arrow". There is another type, viz. "Apollo : horse", cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, unrepresented type (vii).

significance. If it did have any such significance in the beginning, it soon lost it and came to be used after Euthydemus II and Eukratides as a family god.

Prof. H. K. Deb¹⁰² has tried to locate Apollo in Multan mainly on the evidence of Alberuni and Yuan Chwang. The former mentions¹⁰³ that 'the Hindus of Multan celebrated a festival in honour of the sun', and Yuan Chwang refers to "a magnificent and profusely decorated" Sun temple at Multan, which contained a gold image of the Sun-god. Both of these authorities are very late, even Yuan Chwang's date being 7th cent. A.D. This evidence is insufficient to prove that this temple existed eight centuries earlier. Moreover, the existence of a temple alone cannot be taken as a proof of Multan having been a mint city and the device having been taken from this temple, when we know that Sun temples existed in other cities which are known to have been capital and mint cities, such as Taxila, where Philostratus¹⁰⁴ mentions the existence of a famous Sun temple. He states that Alexander had dedicated an elephant which once belonged to Porus, to this temple, and that the elephant was very old at the time, and that the temple still existed when Apollonius visited the court of Gondophares.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, if any city had a claim to Apollo in Indo-Greek times, it was Taxila. But in that case Apollo should have figured on the coins of Eukratidian princes, such as Heliocles, Antialkidas etc., rather than on those of Euthydemid princes, some of whom, particularly those who came after Strato, did not rule over Taxila. Hence the safest thing to assume is that Apollodotus I adopted this god as his *Ishṭa-devata*, because of the association of this god with his own name, which can be translated as Surya-Datta in

102. I. H. Q., X, 1934, pp. 513-14.

103. India, ed. Sachau, I, 293.

104. Life of Apollonius, II, 20.

105. See Tarn, G.B.I., p. 164.

Sanskrit. But before him and north of the Hindu Koh this god may have had some geographical association, since Euthydemus II, who acted as sub-king at Bactria, before Eukratides rose to power in that city, and Eukratides, who ousted from Bactria the Euthydemid family, both adopted him on their coins. It is quite possible that Apollodotus' birth was attributed to the blessings of Apollo by his parents and he was named accordingly. When Apollodotus came to the throne it was natural for him to accept Apollo as his personal god and "Apollo ; diadem" type of coins¹⁰⁶ was issued to celebrate the occasion. After him his descendants inherited Apollo as one of the family gods, used his image exactly as Apollodotus had used it on most of his coins, i. e. in the type "Apollo : tripod". His "Apollo; diadem" type was only once repeated, probably this time again to celebrate a coronation. The coin in question belongs to Dionysios.¹⁰⁷ Later on, like Apollodotus, he, too, reverted to the "Apollo : tripod" device.

In some coin-types Apollo seems to have been symbolised by a tripod alone. These coins also belong to the group of kings who scrupulously exclude Dioscuroi and their emblems from their coins.

The types are :

1. "Humped bull : tripod" of Apollodotus. The square copper coin has no legend, neither Greek nor Kharoshthi. It has been attributed to him only on the basis of devices.¹⁰⁸
2. "Bull's head : tripod" of Menander, bilingual, copper, square.¹⁰⁹
3. "Elephant : tripod" type of Zoilus, bilingual, copper, round.¹¹⁰

106. L.M.C., Sec. I, unrepresented type (iv).

107. Ibid., no. 521, Pl. VII.

108. I. M. C., Sec. I, Apollodotus, type 5.

109. L.M.C., Sec I, nos. 501-2, Pl. VI.

110. Ibid., nos. 546-48, Pl. VII.

III. MISCELLANEOUS DIVINITIES

About the nature of the other divinities on Indo-Greek coins nothing can be said with full confidence as to whether they are Kula-devatās or Nagara-devatās. These divinities are: Demeter (goddess of tillage and corn), Artemis, Poseidon (parallel to the Indian god Varuṇa), Triton (holding a dolphin on a type of Hippostratus).

Of these, Poseidon (i. e. Varuṇa) and one of his trumpeters, the demi-god Triton, need not be considered as nagara-devatās. Poseidon holding his trident figures on a coin-type of Antimachus Theos¹¹¹ who ruled in Merv in south-eastern Iran.

Nikias is known to have issued two types with naval symbolism. In the first, Poseidon with trident appears on the obverse, and a dolphin twined round anchor on the reverse.¹¹² In the second, only a dolphin twined round anchor is depicted on the reverse.¹¹³ Nikias probably was a sub-king of Menander in his later years, or of Strato in his early ones. Location of his sub-kingdom is not known. But his name seems to have some association with the city of Nikaea near modern Kabul.

Triton holding dolphin and rudder appears on a type of Hippostratus.¹¹⁴ City goddess with mural crown and palm, appearing on the reverse of this coin, indicates the location of his principality around Pushkalāvatī in western Gandhāra. His "Apollo and tripod" types¹¹⁵ connect him with the family of Apollodotus. He probably succeeded Hermaeus and was the last Indo-Greek ruler.

111. Pl. II. 1. Also L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 54-58, Pl. II.

112. J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 322, type 3.

113. Ibid., type 2.

114. L.M.C., Sec.I, no. 631, Pl. VIII.

115. Ibid., nos. 622-28, Pl. VIII. The type is used on both the square as well as the round coins.

Much has been made out of the naval symbolism found on the Indo-Greek coins. Dr. Tarn asserts that they symbolise naval victories presumably over the Śakas. Antimachus, according to him, won his on the Oxus in the early years of his reign, since Poseidon and trident are portrayed regularly on his coins right from the commencement of his reign.¹¹⁶ But to start a reign with a naval victory, and issue the very first type in commemoration, is rather unusual. The naval victories, if any, of the two petty princes, Nikias and Hippostratus, could not have been won against any powerful enemies like the Śakas. They must have been insignificant from political and military view-points. In fact, I am not inclined to connect such symbolism with naval action at all. We should bear in mind that the hill torrents of Pushkalāvatī-Kāpiśī region, where Nikias and Hippostratus ruled, do not provide a suitable site for naval activity. It is really fallacious to connect naval symbolism on Indo-Greek coinage with military events. The utmost that can be conceded is that in some cases it represents the claim to naval power of the king or merely indicates his ambition of achieving it.

Poseidon again figures on as many as three types of the Śaka king, Maues¹¹⁷ and on two types of Azes.¹¹⁸

The goddess Artemis appears on an issue of Demetrius¹¹⁹, type : "Herakles : Artemis", copper, round :

Obv.: Bearded bust of Herakles to r.; knot of lion-skin in front of neck, and ivy wreath in hair; club over l. shoulder.

Rev.: Artemis standing to front, head radiate, wearing chiton and buskin; holds bow in l. hand and with r.

116. Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 89-91 and 328 sq.

117. L.M.C., Sec. II, types (t), (κ) and (γ) on pp. 100-101.

118. Ibid., pp. 117 and 122, types (10) and (18).

119. Ibid., nos. 22-25, Pl. I.

hand draws an arrow from a quiver at her back ; legend to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, to l. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. L. mon. 15.

The pure Greek legend places this type north of the Hindu Koh. It is known that a temple of radiate Anahid, who was identified by the Greeks with Artemis, stood at Bactra. Rawlinson in his Bactria¹²⁰ traces the history of this temple of Anahid or Artemis in something like these words : "At Bactra the capital of Bactria, stood one of the many rich temples of the goddess Anahid, or Anaitis—the Tanata of the Persians, and Ananita of the Avesta hymns. Anaitis was a Scythian goddess, and her cult was probably brought into Media by Cyrus on his return from the East. She was then identified with the Assyrian Mylitta (the Arabian Alytra), the Venus Urania of Greece.¹²¹ Artaxerxes adorned the shrine at Bactra with a magnificent statue. This famous image is celebrated in Avesta hymns, (S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 82), where the Bactrian Anahid is described as the "High girdled one, clad in a mantle of gold, having on thy head a golden crown, with eight rays and a hundred stars, and clad in a robe of thirty otter-skins of the sort with a shining fur." The opulence of the Bactrian goddess is in keeping with the wealth and splendour of her other shrines. She figures in her eight-rayed crown on a fine coin of the Graeco-Bactrian Demetrius.¹²² After the death of Alexander, the Greeks remaining in Bactria, appeared to have inter-married with the Iranian people. Even in religion a compromise seems to have been effected, the Greeks recognising in Anahid of Bactria their own Artemis or Venus."

No doubt, this type of Demetrius was minted at Bactra. But the same cannot be said of the other two cases where Artemis figures on Indo-Greek coins. After

120. Pp. 8-10 and 54.

121. Herodotus, I. 131.

122. B.M.C., Pl. III. 1.

Demetrius she reappeared after a long obscurity on the coins of Artemidorus. From his name, it appears that Artemidorus attached some personal significance to this goddess. Both of his types represented in L.M. Catalogue,¹²³ e.g. "bust of king : Artemis" and "Artemis : bull"—are bilingual, indicating the location of this issue south of the Hindu Koh. The appearance of "bull" with Artemis and of "panther" on another type¹²⁴ would point to Pushkalāvatī as the mint city of this prince.

Artemis also appears on the only type known of Peukolaos.¹²⁵ The type "Artemis : Flower-bearing goddess" has already been located at Pushkalāvatī.

From the last two coins it appears that Artemidorus and Peucolaos were blood relations, probably father and son. The former, who ruled at Pushkalāvatī, adopted this goddess for personal reasons. His son maintained his tradition, but at the same time added the figure of the local goddess Kālī on the reverse. Artemis herself did not belong to Pushkalāvatī. Most probably, Artemidorus was born at Bactra and his parents attributed his birth to the blessings of the local goddess Artemis. But his son was born at Pushkalāvatī through the blessings of the goddess Pushkalāvatī or Kālī and was named after her. These two princes show affinity neither to the house of Euthydemus nor to that of Eukratides. The family gods of these houses are totally absent from their available coins. Most probably Artemidorus, an officer of Antialkidas, set up a line of petty princes at Pushkalāvatī. After a brief rule this dynasty was destroyed by the Śakas, who raised Hermaeus to the throne of Peucolaos.

Demeter¹²⁶ holding in left hand cornucopiae¹²⁷ appears

123. Sec. I, nos. 551, and 555-56, Pl. VII. More types are referred to as unrepresented ones in L. M. C.

124. Ibid., unrepresented type (ii).

125. Ibid., no. 642, Pl. VIII.

126. Goddess of tillage and corn. Roman "Ceres."

127. The horn of Plenty.

only once on the Indo-Greek coinage. The type is "Demeter : humped bull" of Philoxenos.¹²⁸ The presence of bull would point to Pushkalāvatī as the mint city ; and the goddess must be the Pushkalāvatī devatā. The horn which is not very clear as such, appears more like a lotus-stalk. Smith¹²⁹ has rightly described her as "City." But the horseman device, which appears on another type of his, has been located by some scholars¹³⁰ at Bacephala on the western bank of Jhelum. It is improbable that this obscure prince should have ruled over all the territory, though not very large itself, between Jhelum and Pushkalāvatī. I am not inclined to believe that there was a mint at all at Bucephala¹³¹ and that the "horseman" is the Bucephala type. It must also be remembered in this connection that horse also figures in a device of Euthydemus I. The type is "Heracles : horse."¹³²

In a type of Theophilos "Herakles : cornucopiae,"¹³³ cornucopiae, perhaps represents Demeter.

A deity driving quadriga appears on the reverse of the coins of Plato.¹³⁴ The deity has usually been identified with Sun-god, i.e. Apollo or Helios.¹³⁵ But she may as well be compared to Athena or Pallas, who appears riding a quadriga of horned elephants, and Nike driving a quadriga of horned horses with a warrior who rides behind her. These two devices occur on early Syrian coins.¹³⁶ The monogram on

128. L. M. C., Sec., I, type (γ).

129. I. M. C., Sec. I, p. 30, Pl. VI, 5.

130. E.g. Prof. H. K. Deb, I. H. Q., X, 1934, pp. 514-15.

131. Supra, pp. 31-32.

132. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 16, Pl. I.

133. Ibid., no. 632, Pl. VIII.

134. Pl. VI, 3; B. M. C., Pl. VI, ii; cf. L. M. C., Sec. I, p. 27, unrepresented type.

135. Macdonald, C. H. I., p. 456; Narain, Indo-Greeks, p. 71; J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 306.

136. For "Athena in quadriga of horned elephants," see C.H.I., Pl. I, 15 of Seleucus I; Pl. II, 1. of Seleucus I and Antiochus I, Pl. II, 2 of Seleucus, son of Antiochus I; and for the type "warrior in quadriga of horned horses, with Nike as driver," see C. H. I., Pl. II, 16 of Andragoros.

one such coin of Plato¹³⁷ is analysed by some scholars into PMI, and interpreted as referring to the year 147 of the Seleucid era.¹³⁸ But this conjecture is doubtful.

A series of square copper coins¹³⁹ has raised a lot of controversy. The type is :

Obv. : Buddhist *stūpa* surmounted by star ; in exergue, Kh. legend, *Agathukreyasa*.

Rev. : Tree inside a railing, in ex., Kh. legend, *hirañasame*.

It must be noted that this coin does not bear any Greek legend. This is against all Greek tradition. It has been tempting to conclude that this type commemorates Agathocles' conversion to Buddhism. The title ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (Skt. *Dhārmika*) on his commemorative types¹⁴⁰ has also lent itself to such an interpretation. But it is extremely doubtful that the Indo-Greeks came under the Indian cultural influence so early during their contact with this country. It must also be remembered in this context that Agathocles and the other princes of the Euthydemid house were engaged at this period in a life and death struggle with the invading armies of Eukratides, and that a bitter propaganda war accompanied this struggle, each party trying to prove its descent from the great Greek heroes like Alexander and Seleucus. In these circumstances it would have been fatal for the cause of his family for a Euthydemid prince to repudiate Greek gods in favour of the native ones, and adopt a Buddhist title on those very coins through which he was trying to assert his royal Greek pedigree. The suspicious absence of Greek legend on his

137. Pl. VI. 3 ; C. H. I., Pl. IV. 7.

138. Ibid., p. 456.

139. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 52-53, Pl. II. Also see infra, Pl. III. 2.

140. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 41, Pl. II. In fact, this is his title on all commemorative types. See Pl. III. 3 and 5. For all commemorative types see J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 303.

Hirañasame type, and of even his name on another similar type¹⁴¹ indicates that Agathocles was doing something which he did not want his Greek compatriots to take note of. He wanted to win over the sympathies of the Indian people. At the same time he did not want to lose those of the Greek soldiers. Hence the adoption of Buddhist symbolism and pure Kharoshthī legend. Dr. Tarn¹⁴² has opined that *Hirañasame* (Skt. *Hiranyāśrama* or Golden Hermitage) was a district adjacent to Taxila, and that Agathocles, though not ruling over Taxila, adopted a Taxilan type for trade purposes. This explanation is not warranted by the evidence at our disposal, nor is it convincing. How much Agathocles was interested in the local support can be guessed from the fact that he and Pantaleon were the first and the only Indo-Greek princes to introduce Brāhmī legends on their coins.¹⁴³ The events leading to the adoption of Brāhmī script by Pantaleon and Agathocles on their Pushkalāvatī coins have already been discussed in detail.¹⁴⁴

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF INDO-GREEK KINGS

Religious affiliations of some of the Indo-Greek kings can be deduced, or confirmed if otherwise known, from their coins. Menander's conversion to Buddhism, already known from the Milindapañho, is confirmed by his coin-devices. Besides the "wheel" type,¹⁴⁵ Menander's Buddhist coinage include, those on which Menander assumes the title Dikaios

141. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 51. This coin according to Tarn, G.B.I., p. 160, belongs to Taxila rather than to Agathocles.

142. G. B. I., p. 160.

143. See Pushkalāvatī type, L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 35-40 and 45, Pl. II.

144. Supra, pp. 14-16.

145. "Wheel : palm branch," B.M.C., Pl. XII, 7; L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 63, unrepresented type (vii); C.A.S.E. XII, 13,

or *Dhramika* (Skt. *Dhārmika*).¹⁴⁶ There are only two main Dikaios types.¹⁴⁷ Whitehead refers to only three silver and one or two copper ones.¹⁴⁸ Two of the silver types are almost identical, the only difference between them being that in one *Nike* is depicted in her conventional form and in the other in an unconventional one.¹⁴⁹ Since these types do not represent one denomination, it need not be assumed that they were issued one after the other. Coins of all denominations are to be issued each year to meet the community's needs. It is significant that the bust of the king on all the Dikaios types "is that of an aged man, so it would appear that towards the end of his long reign the title of Menander on the coinage was altered from ΣΩΤΗΡ to ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ."¹⁵⁰ On the basis of his aged bust alone, Menander's Buddhist coinage has to be confined to a short span of two to three years. Hence there can be little doubt that his death occurred about three years after the occupation of *Sākala*.

146. DIKAIOS types : Two main types, others being only their minor variations, e. g. L.M.C. Sec. I. pp. 59-63, types (θ), (ο) and unrepresented types (ι), (ii), (viii) and (xi).

147. Ibidem. Types (θ), (ι) and (ii) form one variety and types (ο), (viii) and (xi) the other.

148. L.M.C., Sec. I. p. 59 n.

149. Ibid. The conventional figure of *Nike* is winged and holds palm and wreath. But on some of these types she is dressed as *Artemis*, and wears the cap peculiar to *Dioscuroi*. The head is surrounded by what looks like a halo but is more probably intended to represent a veil floating round the head.

150. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

MONOGRAMS¹

There is reason to believe that the monograms on Seleucid coins referred to the names of their magistrates in charge of mints or of the satraps in whose jurisdiction the mint was located. The evidence is supplied by two series of gold and silver coins of Antiochus I and Antiochus II. The first series has "horse-head" as the reverse type; and the second "seated Apollo."² The coins of these two series bear one of the monograms, nos. 1, 2, 3, ΔI , and Δ . These monograms appear to represent the name, ΔIO -[$\Delta OTOS$], i.e., DIO [DOTOS]. The suspicion that these monograms refer to Diodotos is further confirmed by the fact that these Antiochus coins are found from Afghanistan and Bokhara, i.e. the neighbourhood of Bactria³, where, we know from other sources, Diodotos shortly afterwards set himself up as an independent ruler and issued his own currency. It is tempting to conclude that the satrap's name figured on the coins of Antiochus I and his successors in spite of Dr. A. K. Narain's⁴ arguments against such a conclusion. But on the coins of Indo-Greek princes it has been seen that the monograms persist through many reigns, and sometimes reappear after intervals longer than the lifetime of a man. Monogram 17 first appears on the coins of Euthydemus, whose rule ended before 190 B.C. It is also found on some of the coins of

1. Plate VII contains 143 monograms collected from the Indo-Greek coins. In the text of this book these monograms are referred to only by their serial number in Plate VII, which should be consulted in each case.

2. See C. H. I., Pl. II. 5-8 for the first type and 9-10 for the second.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

4. Indo-Greeks, p. 15.

Demetrius (190 to 174 B.C.) Apollodotus, Antimachus, Eukratides (170 B.C.), Strato I, Lysias, Antialkidas (who is placed in 104 B.C. on the evidence of the Besnagar inscription) and Archebius.⁵ The same satrap, represented by monogram 17, obviously could not have lived so long as to occupy that high office for more than 80 years or have served under so many princes. Since common monograms appear on the coins of mutually hostile princes (in the above list Eukratides carried on bitter warfare against Demetrius, Apollodotus and Antimachus), we will have to assume large scale defections among the Greek officers, if we adopt the view that the monograms refer to the names of satraps or mint-masters. Besides, we know that during the Indo-Greek period the satrap appeared in the role of a sub-king, whose full name and titles appeared on the reverse of coins. There was no occasion for adding an obscure symbol for the same person. Nor do we find any connection between the monogram and the name of the sub-king on whose coins it appears.

In fact the monograms can neither be accepted as the satrap's initials nor those of the mint-master, if the latter term designates the chief executive of a mint, nor even as a distinguishing mark of the mint. Let us examine the problem further.

The Lahore Museum Catalogue records as many as 95 monograms on the Indo-Greek coins, in addition to a large number of Kharoshthi letters which also appear to have the same purpose as the monograms. My own calculations carry the figure to 143 multi-letter monograms⁶ besides 12 single-letter and 6 double-letter abbreviations apparently serving the same purpose. It is impossible to believe that the Indo-Greek princelings whose combined dominions at their widest were confined only to modern Afghanistan, West Panjab and Sindh, were running so many mints. It

5. See I. M. C., Sec. I, and L. M. C., Sec. I under these kings.

6. Sec. Pl. VII.

is equally absurd to believe that the monograms represent satraps' name, since in that case some of these princes, ruling over small areas according to Indian standards, will have to be credited with a ridiculously large number of satraps serving under them. Lahore Museum Catalogue records as many as 20 monograms besides Kharoshthī letters for Eukratides alone, 22 monograms besides a large number in the form of Greek and Kharoshthī letters for Apollodotus, 16 for Menander, and 17 even for Hermaeus, who ruled over a tiny patch in Afghanistan. Secondly, coins of the same king bearing the same city divinity sometimes bear different monograms, e.g. those of the Śaka king Azes with "bull and lion" type bear more than 18 Greek monograms in addition to Kharoshthī letters.⁷ Are we to believe that some of these rulers were running numerous mints in the same city. Still more inexplicable is the fact that coins bearing the same monograms do not have the same city divinity. In other words, the same mint was functioning in more than one city. Such cities sometimes were separated by a fairly wide stretch of difficult terrain. Then in numerous cases we find more than one monogram on the same coin⁸. Since these are cast coins, it will be absurd to believe that they went through two or more mints during the process of manufacture. Besides, there remain the Kharoshthī letters which are usually in addition to the monogram⁹. Finally, there are

7. See I. M. C., Sec. II, Azes' type 7; and L. M. C., Sec. II, nos. 267-82.

8. Cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 240-44 and 251-52 of Apollodotus; I.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 38-39 of Menander, and numerous others have two each; L. M. C., Sec. II, no. 22 of the Śaka king, Azes, has even three mons. And one of Aspavarma (under Gondophares), namely, L. M. C., Sec. II, no. 35, p. 150, bears as many as five monograms, including the well-known Gondopharean planetary symbol of Mercury, but excluding three Kharoshthī mons.

9. Cf. L.M.C. Sec. I, no. 322. It has on the obv. the mon. 22 and at the same time has Kh. letter *d* in r. field and Kh. *u* in l. field.

coins without any monogram. Does it imply that they are not the produce of any mint ?

All these facts cannot be explained if these monograms are accepted as mint marks. This assumption loses all validity if we compare a coin of Strato I¹⁰ with another of Euthydemus I¹¹. We find that both these coins bear the same monogram, namely no. 17. All evidence points to the fact, unanimously accepted by scholars, that Strato I never ruled over any part of the country over which his predecessor Euthydemus had ever held sway. The latter's dominions hardly stretched up to the Hindu Koh range in the south, whereas the farthest limit of Strato's kingdom in the north-west never extended beyond the Indus. Thus Strato was never in possession of the town and the mint in which Euthydemus' coin was minted. This fact is also brought out by the coin legends. Euthydemus' coin bears only Greek legend. This coin, therefore, was issued in a country where Greek language and script alone were in use. Strato's coin, on the other hand, was meant for circulation in a country where people did not use the language and script of the Greek ruler. Hence the appearance of Prakrit legends in Kharoshthi script on the coin. This latter area was obviously in the Panjab, most probably located round about the ancient town of Śākala. This coin must have been minted in Śākala, Strato's capital. Pure Greek legend on Euthydemus' coin points to Bactra as the mint city. In any case, the two coins were produced in different cities, though they bear the identical monogram i7. Hence monogram 17, and for that matter any other monogram, is not a mint-mark.

We cannot accept them as some sort of symbols for dates or years in any given era, for the reason that

See also no. 331. The coins belong to Apollodotus. No. 329 has the same mon. as no. 322, but different Kh. letters.

10. C.H.I., Pl. VI, 5.

11. Pl. I, 4; C.H.I., Pl. III, 2; L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 8, Pl. I.

sometimes common monograms are found on the coins of kings belonging to different epochs¹².

A reference has already been made to the Kharoshthī monograms which appear on the coins of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers. These do not take the place of Greek monograms. Rather they are in addition to the Greek monogram, whenever they make an appearance. The letters of these Kharoshthī monograms are not intertwined as are those of the Greek ones. Instead, each letter appears separately. Hence Kharoshthī monograms are capable of yielding more information.

A study of the Kharoshthī letters or monograms found on post-Greek, i. e. Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian, coins leads to the belief that they, and hence the Greek monograms, conceal names of persons rather than those of mints, or more precisely mint cities. On the reverse of an unidentified coin in the Lahore Museum¹³ Kharoshthī letters *dhra* appear to the right and *ma* to the left. Reading them together from right to left in the usual Kharoshthī way we get the Prakrit word *dhrama* (Sanskrit *dharma*). But this word can as well be a part of a city's name as of an individual. Again on the reverse of a coin of Rajuvula, the Śaka satrap of Mathurā, Kharoshthī *ha* appears on the right and *sti* on the left. Combined, the two syllables give the word *hasti*, which does not appear in the name of any important city after the destruction of Hastināpura by floods during the reign of Nichakshu, a descendant of Parikshit. This catastrophe occurred centuries before the period under review. Even that city received this name from its founder, king Hastin, the 5th successor of Bharata¹⁴. Another individual of this name, King Hastin of Dabhāla, possibly in Bundelkhand, is known from a

12. E. g. mon. 17 discussed in the foregoing paragraphs.

13. L.M.C., Sec. II, p. 168., no. 138,

14. Cf. Majumdar Ancient India, p. 72

copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja Samkshobha*¹⁵. On a coin of Zeionises, Kharoshṭī *ka* appears on the obverse and *msha* on the reverse¹⁶. *Kamsha*, appears to be corrupted from the name of the notorious adversary of Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata story. Again on a coin of Gondophares the word *gurtu* appears if read from right to left¹⁷. *Gurtu* is a caste name of Kashmiri Pundits even today. On a coin of Azilises the Kharoshṭī letters when read in the same order give us the familiar Śaka name *Aya*, the Prakrit form of *Azes*¹⁸. On the reverse of a copper piece of *Azes*¹⁹ appears an unusually long Kharoshṭī monogram, *shegasha*. It may be anything but the name of an Indian township. Perhaps it is a Śaka name. But the Śakas are not credited with having established any township on the Indian soil, as are the Greeks. It may, therefore, be the name of a human personage. Another suspected personal name that occurs on Indo-Scythian coins is *Dami*. It occurs by way of a Kharoshṭī monogram on a type of *Maues*²⁰, and appears to be an abbreviation of the name of *Damijada*, the person mentioned in the Shahdaur inscription²¹.

Now let us examine the Kharoshṭī monograms on the Indo-Greek coins. We find on the reverse of a coin of Apollodotus²², Kh. *di* to the right and Kh. *a* to the left, giving the word *dia*, the Kharoshṭī or Prakrit form of the Greek personal name Dion, familiar to us from

15. C.I.I., vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions, no. 25, Pl. XV. B, pp. 112-16.

16. L.M.C., Sec. II, no. 82.

17. Ibid., no. 42.

18. Ibid., no. 320.

19. Ibid., no. 231, Pl. XII.

20. Ibid., no. 28; B.M.C., pp. 68-69, 71, Pl. XVII. 3.

21. Konow, C.I.I., vol. II, Pt. I, p. 13 and plates. This identification is suggested by Dr. A. K. Narain, Indo-Greeks, p. 143.

22. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 322, Pl. V; I.M.C., Sec. I, no. 33, p. 20.

the Besnagar inscription²³. Curiously enough, the Greek monogram on the obverse of this coin is no. 22, which can be analysed into the letters ΔΙΟ and ΥΚ or ΓΚ. This gives rise to the suspicion that both the Greek and the Kharoshthī monograms refer to the same person. It is tempting to assume that this *Dia* or Dion is no other than the father of ambassador *Heliadora* or Heliodorus of the Besnagar inscription, since the interval between the death of Apollodotus and the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus is about 56 years. But there is one difficulty in accepting this identification. Antialkidas, the patron of Heliodorus, belonged to the rival Greek house of Eukratides. We shall have to assume that the family of Dion shifted loyalty from the house of Euthydemus to that of Eukratides during the interval, just as another officer, Strategos Aspavarmā, was to do about a century later in the Śaka-Pahlava period. The Greek form of this monogram appears on some other types also of Apollodotus. Another coin of this king has the Greek monogram ≡E on the obverse and NO on the reverse²⁴, giving us ≡ENO, which sounds like Xeno (सेनो) in the name of another Indo-Greek prince, Philoxenos, whose own coins have come down to us²⁵.

The most remarkable coin of Apollodotus is the one which bears on the reverse the Kharoshthī figures 1 to 1, and 4 to 1.²⁶, which may give us the number 14, presumably signifying the regnal year. If this presumption is correct, we have discovered something unique on the Indo-Greek coinage.

23. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91 :

हेलिओदोरेण भागवतेन दिअस पुत्रेण तख्खसिलाकेन योनदूतेन [आ] गतेन
महाराजस अंतलिकितस उपता सकासं रजो कोसीपुत्रस भागभद्रस त्रातारस
वसेन चतुर्दसेन राजेन वधमानस ।

24. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 253.

25. I.M.C., Sec. I, p. 30.

26. Ibid., p. 20, no. 36.

While discussing an unidentified Pushkalāvatī Nagaradvatā coin²⁷, I suggested that the broken Kharoshṭhī letters accompanying the figure of the divinity on the reverse may refer to her name²⁸. These letters, it must be noted, run in a continuous line like those in any other Kharoshṭhī legend, and do not give the impression of being a monogram.

Nothing can be made out of the numerous Greek monograms on the Indo-Greek coins²⁹, and for that matter, on those of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian princes. It is difficult to analyse them fully into individual letters. In a number of cases where all the letters of the monogram are known, it is impossible to obtain a word from them or to give this jumble of letters a meaning. What emerges as an indisputable fact is that no particular monogram monopolised a mint city. We have noted many monograms on the coins which were indisputably minted at Pushkalāvatī. Evidently therefore, Pushkalāvatī mint did not have any monogram peculiar to itself. Even on the Pushkalāvatī coins of a single prince, Azes for example, there is no uniformity of monograms.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the monograms whether Greek or Kharoshṭhī do not refer to mints. A study of Kharoshṭhī monograms leads us to assume that most probably they refer to individuals, but these individuals could not be satraps or high officials such as mint-masters or chief executives of mints, since it is ridiculous to accept the existence of so many satraps or so many mints under these princelings who themselves were subordinate to kings whose own dominions were not very large. It should be admitted finally that these monograms refer neither to mints nor to satraps. They may refer to lesser officials, such as superintendents of the

27. See Pl. VI. 6 and 7

28. Supra, pp 22-23.

29. 143 Greek monogram are recorded in Pl. VII. Of these Lahore Museum Catalogue takes notes of 95.

workmen notwithstanding the suspicion that Kharoshthi *dia* and monogram 22 on a coin of Apollodotus may refer to Dion, father of ambassador Heliodorus of King Antialkidas of Taxila. It appears that the family of Dion gained by shifting loyalty from the house of Euthydemus to that of Eukratides. From superintendentship of a team of engravers they rose to the rank of ambassadors. If this conclusion is correct, it must be admitted that the monograms represent a person lower in rank than an ambassador and a satrap. If this person was a Government official, all situations on Indo-Greek coins are not explained. For example, how to reconcile more than one monogram on the same coin. I suspect that the Indo-Greek princes were running mints on contract basis. The minting work was entrusted to individual contractors or firms, who introduced their own mark of identification on their produce. These firms or individuals may have occasionally moved from one city to another because of the changing fortunes of their patrons, a very common occurrence with these foreign princes, who never were rooted to the Indian soil ; or they may have moved simply to avail themselves of more profitable business in the capital of a neighbouring prince. Hence the same monogram on coins with different city divinities. We cannot totally rule out the situation where the divinity travelled with the prince while the smithies did not. But such divinities were of a different class from the nagara-devatās. They were of the nature of kula-devatās or family-divinities. Herakles, Athena or Pallas and the Dioscuroi appear to have been kula-devatās.

When more than one contractor or contracting firm jointly undertook a contract, their individual monograms also joined on the coin. Ancient Indian commerce and industry were familiar with joint enterprise³⁰. That

30. संभूय-समुत्थान, see Kautilya, III. 14. 66; and Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, II. 22, i. e. व्यवहाराध्याय, संभूय समुत्थान प्रकरण।

would explain the phenomenon of many monograms on one and the same coin. It is quite possible under such an arrangement to distribute the minting work on quota basis to many contractors in the same city. That must be the reason why the type and the city divinity remain unchanged on some issues of a prince while the monograms vary.

The cases of identical monograms appearing on coins of princes rather separated in time even beyond the life-span of a single man are very few (in fact, the Greek rule in the North-West hardly lasted a century.) Even these few cases can be explained by accepting them as the work of firms ; or it may be that a later contractor adopted the monogram of his earlier namesake. We cannot rule out the possibility of a son or a grandson inheriting the name as well as the profession of his ancestor.

On these very grounds we could assume that the monogram was the identification mark of the artist himself, who actually fashioned the coin. But the evidence against such an assumption is clear. On the early Indo-Greek coins, while the type remains exactly of the same artistic quality, the monograms vary. One type of Antimachus,³¹ on the obverse of which the king appears wearing a causia and a peculiar half-mocking smile, is the work of one and the same artist. But monograms on this type vary with coins.³² This means that although the artist is one and the same person, the coins bear identification marks of at least three persons. These persons are, therefore, different from the artist. Hence if the owners of the monograms are neither satraps nor artists nor even mint-masters, they can only be persons occupying some intervening position between the mint-master and the artist. They may be regular officials or contractors. It is obvious that each mint had so many of them. I am inclined to regard them as

31. E. g., L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 54.

32. Ibid., no. 54, has the mon. 14, I.M.C., Sec. I, p. 2, Pl. II. 4 has no. 17 and C.H.I., Pl. II. 8 has the mon. 129.

contractors. The arrangement, wherein the minting work was distributed among numerous contractors, is quite probable in a country where gold and silver smiths abound. Panjab villages can even now boast of their own goldsmiths. Regular mints are not set up in a war-torn land and under such unstable political conditions as prevailed in the contemporary Panjab. The rapid deterioration of the art of minting itself indicates conditions in which even training facilities were not available to the new artists.

CHAPTER V

PROPAGANDA WAR

Pedigree Series

Two very interesting coin-series have come down to us. One of them was issued by Antimachus and Agathocles, and the other by their opponent, Eukratides. Von Sallet was the first to understand their significance. These coins were, no doubt, meant to serve as political manifestoes in addition to their normal use as currency. Through these coins the rival Greek princes proclaimed their legal right to the throne, as descendants of some past Greek royal personage.

The characteristic feature of these coins is that the obverse legend refers to one of the past Greek kings or royal figures, without giving him the usual royal title, "Basileos". Instead, each is given a special epithet, such as Soter (Saviour), Theos (God), Dikaios (Just) etc. The reverse has the full royal designation and name of the prince who issued the type.

Of these Commemorative or Pedigree types the largest variety was issued by Agathocles, whose royal designation, name and title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, i.e. "struck in the reign of Agathocles the Just," occur as the common inscription on all these types. Five, or perhaps six, commemorative types of Agathocles are known :

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1. The first has on the obverse the types of the familiar silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, whose portrait with lion-skin is reproduced, and the accompanying legend is ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. The reverse has

Zeus seated on throne, holding eagle, and accompanied with the common Agathocles legend referred to above.¹

2. The second of his pedigree types² has on the obverse a diademed head, meant to be that of Antiochus, and the legend ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, i.e. "Antiochus the Conqueror." On the reverse it has Zeus hurling thunderbolt, with a wreath and eagle at his feet, exactly as it is portrayed on the coins of Antiochus (and Diodotus).³

3. The third has on the obverse the head of Diodotus beside the legend ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, i.e. "Diodotus the Saviour." The reverse is the same as on 2 above.⁴

4. The fourth type has on the obverse the head of Euthydemus and the legend ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, i.e. "Euthydemus the Divine." On the reverse Heracles with club is seated on rock.⁵

5. The fifth likewise has on the obverse the head of Demetrius with the legend ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ, and on the reverse standing Heracles is crowning himself.⁶

Certain features on all these five types strike us as unusual. The term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ never occurs with the name of the commemorated king, whereas the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ instead of the usual ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ precedes the name of the ruling prince. It must be noted that the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ is seen nowhere except on the coins belonging to the pedigree series. Very little effort is made to reproduce on the obverse the exact portrait of the commemorated hero; all that

1. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 41, Pl. II.

2. Pl. III. 3; C. A. S. E., II. 3; and B. M. C., XXX-5.

3. Compare C. H. I., Pl. VI. 1 of Agathocles with C.H.I., Pl. II. 11 and II. 13 of Antiochus and Diodotus respectively.

4. B. M. C., IV. 2.

5. Pl. III. 5; B. M. C., IV. 3 and C.H.I., Pl. IV. 2.

6. N. C., 1934, Pl. III. 1, and J. N. S. I., p. 303.

is done in this direction is the reproduction of Alexander's lion-skin, portraying undraped shoulders, and on an obscure coin⁷ to be discussed in the next paragraph, a waiving diadem-end on the portrait of Diodotus: On all the other types the "diadem has both ends hanging down, after the manner that was customary on the coins of Agathocles himself instead of one end flying out behind, as had previously been usual."⁸ Even the head on the obverse is more like that of Agathocles than that of the hero commemorated.

In addition to the five types discussed above, there is one tetradrachm assigned by Macdonald to Demetrius⁹ I and by Dr. A. K. Narain to Diodotus himself.¹⁰ The obverse of this coin¹¹ has the diademed bust of Diodotus with no legend. The reverse has Zeus hurling thunderbolt, with wreath and eagle at his feet. The legend to r. and l. of Zeus is ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. The monogram is no. 15. This monogram and the die adjustment ↑↑, as found here, definitely belong to a period later than the times of Diodotus. Macdonald rightly suspected this coin to be a commemorative medal. According to Dr. A. K. Narain some of Diodotus coins are known from Major General Haughton's collection with die adjustment ↑↑ instead of the usual ↑↓ of his times. But he fails to explain the mon. 15 which occurs on the coins of Demetrius, Agathocles and some other contemporary princes of Euthydemid - family, but is totally missing from the coins of Diodotus. Moreover, the absence of the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is decisive, in as much as it proves that Diodotus was not on

7. Pl. III. 4; C. H. I., Pl. III. 9.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 440 and 451.

10. The Indo-Greeks, p. 17.

11. Pl. III. 4; L. M. C., Sec. I., p. 10. unrepresented type (i) under Diodotus.

the throne when this type was issued. This is in common with other commemorative types. Its commemorative character is, therefore, beyond doubt. But it is doubtful to assign it to Demetrius I. The coin itself does not bear the legend of the ruling prince. But the face on the obverse resembles to a marked degree that of Agathocles on his coins.¹² The high long nose on this face is strikingly different from that of Demetrius.¹³ I am, therefore, inclined to assign this coin to Agathocles rather than to Demetrius, who is not known to have issued any other commemorative type. It is apparent from one of Agathocles' pedigree types,¹⁴ where Demetrius himself is commemorated that the latter was no longer alive during the propaganda war.

Antimachus, another king of the Euthydemid family, accepted in these pages as the youngest son of Euthydemus I and the youngest brother of Demetrius I, also issued a number of similar memorial types, two of which are known. One commemorates $\Delta\text{IO}\Delta\text{OTOS}$ $\Sigma\Omega\text{T}H\text{P}$,¹⁵ and the other $\text{EY}\Theta\text{Y}\Delta\text{HMO}\Sigma$ $\Theta\text{EO}\Sigma$.¹⁶ These differ from the corresponding issues of Agathocles only in two points, namely, in the monogram and in the reverse legend, which is $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\wedge\text{EYONTO}\Sigma$ ANTIMAXOY ΘEOY , i.e., "struck in the reign of Antimachus Theos."

Now the reason why these two princes were constrained to make desperate efforts to establish their relationship, real or fictitious, with the earlier rulers, becomes plain if we examine a similar series issued by Eukratides,

12. Compare Pl. III. 1; C.H.I., Pl. III. 6 where the mon is also the same.

13. Compare with Pl. I. 6; C. H. I., Pl. III. 3; and Narain, Indo-Greeks, Pl. I. 5-6.

14. 5th type discussed above.

15. B. M. C., Pl. XXX. 6.

16. Pl. II. 2; J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, Pl. III. 1 as well as 2.

who, as we know on the authority of Justin,¹⁷ raised a revolt against Demetrius in Bactria. After occupying that province, Eukratides is known to have crossed the Hindu Koh, to give the latter a stab in the back when he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against his Indian adversary, Pushyamitra Śunga. Eukratides, according to Tarn started his revolt with a handful of followers, his mainstay being defections from Demetrius' Greek legions who must have regarded the former as the true heir in Bactria of the Syrian house. Their unquestioning loyalty to the Seleucid dynasty is well-known.¹⁸ Eukratides seems to have taken early steps to proclaim his relationship with the Seleucid family, and the "Heliocles and Laodike" type on some of his tetradrachms and drachms appears to be a step in this direction. It bears on the obverse, male and female head, jugate, with the legend ΗΛΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, and on the reverse the usual helmeted bust of Eukratides, with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.¹⁹ Through this coin Eukratides was obviously appealing to the memory of his father and mother, from one of whom he claimed to have derived his title to the throne. An appeal to the memory of his mother, Laodike, was unnecessary, had his father been a ruling prince or at least a scion of the Seleucid house. Hence it is clear that his claim rested on the title of his mother who alone on this type wears the diadem, signifying that she alone of the couple "was of the lineage of kings, a princess in her own right." Von Sallet's theory that this type commemorates the marriage of Enkratides' son, also named Heliocles, with

17. XLI. 6.

18. Tarn, G. B. I., pp. 198 and 202. Justin, XLI. 6, reveals how small a following Eukratides had. With only 300 followers he was surrounded by an army of 60,000 men under the personal command of Demetrius. Still he managed to escape.

19. Pl. V. 1.; C. H. I., Pl. IV. 3; J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 305. Hirsh Sale Cat., 1912, Pl. XIV. 524; Neville 5, Pl. LXXXI, no. 2896.

Laodike, a daughter of his enemy, Demetrius, as a reconciliation between the two houses, has rightly been rejected by Prof. Macdonald²⁰. There is no evidence of such a reconciliation, nor of the existence of Demetrius' daughter of this name. In fact, no Indo-Greek princess of this name is known to us. On the other hand, "Laodike was a common name in the house of Syria"²¹. The first Laodike was the mother of Seleucus I himself.²² And the Laodike in question may have been a sister of Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.) and Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), the two brothers who occupied the Syrian throne in succession. Eukratides' preference for "bead-and-reel" border, a characteristically Seleucid ornament, which he introduced into the Bactrian coinage, also points to his Seleucid relationship. In fact, his Seleucid origin was so patent that he never felt the need of issuing a second manifesto, as did his enemies who were constrained to issue successive manifestoes when they found that the previous ones had failed to cut any ice. When their appeal to the memory of Demetrius the Invincible and Euthydemus the Divine could not retain the loyalty of their armies, they appealed to the memory of Antiochus (i. e. Antiochus III) whose daughter, we know, was married to Demetrius. Not finding much success they were driven to make wild and fictitious claims to descent from Diodotus the Saviour, and even from Alexander, Philip's son.

It must be mentioned here that Dr. A. K. Narain does not accept the contention that these were meant to be pedigree coins or that they were issued by way of propaganda.²³ But I remain totally unconvinced by his arguments. He does not bother to explain the significance of these types.

20. C. H. I., pp. 451-52.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

22. Justin, XV. 4

23. Indo-Greeks, pp. 56, 60–61.

The first move in the propaganda war was, however, made by Demetrius II, the second son of Demetrius I. It was in the nature of impressing the newly risen upstart Eukratides and his supporters with the might of his father who was still alive. This was done through certain bilingual tetradrachms²⁴ depicting Zeus, holding sceptre and winged thunderbolt, doubtless "the elephant god of Kāpiśī who according to Hsuan Tsiang, had his abode on mount Pilusāra."²⁵ We have identified this god with Indra Vajrapāṇi.²⁶ This type of Demetrius II was issued on behalf of his father. The youthful head definitely belongs to the younger Demetrius, but the title "of king Demetrius the Invincible" is that of the father. The title "Invincible", no doubt, has propaganda significance. Another type, on which Zeus is symbolised by his winged thunderbolt only and on which are engraved the title as well as the head of the elder Demetrius wearing his well-known elephant scalp, is also believed to have been issued by Demetrius II, since the Zeus type belonged to him. Moreover, the elder Demetrius did not issue any bilingual type.²⁷ These are, incidentally, the first known bilingual coins issued by the Indo-Greeks. The Aśvaka revolt in neighbouring Gandhāra may have forced them to adopt Kharoshṭhī on these coins.

The transfer of Demetrius II to Bactria is indicated by his Bactrian tetradrachms²⁸ on which he used his own portrait and type as also his own legend "of king Demetrius," just as Euthydemus II had done before him. He probably continued for some time to hold the additional charge of Kāpiśī.

The "bead-and-reel" border found on one of his Bactrian tetradrachms, now in the British Museum, would

24. J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 301; N. C., 1923, Pl. XIV. 2.

25. C. H. I., p. 556; Tarn, G. B. I., p. 138.

26. Supra, pp. 18 sq.

27. Tarn, G. B. I., p. 138.

28. B. M. C., Pl. XXX. 1-2.

place him close to Eukratides, who is known to have introduced this Seleucid ornament on his coins. From this fact Dr. Tarn concludes that he was king in Bactria when Eukratides came.²⁹ But, according to Dr. Narain,³⁰ this coin belongs to the Seleucid Demetrius II and is now removed from the British Museum Catalogue of Indo-Greek coins. Even if Dr. Narain is right, there seems to be no doubt that Demetrius II replaced Euthydemus II in Bactria, and must have been king when Eukratides rose in revolt. Pallas types with dotted border³¹ have to be assigned to Demetrius II.

Fall of Antimachus and Agathocles

Among the Euthydemids the last to fall were Antimachus, who issued only two propaganda types, and Agathocles who issued five. On them must have fallen the main brunt of Eukratides' onslaught after the fall of Demetrius II. They alone issued pedigree series, hence alone appear to have survived Demetrius I. It is significant that the latter did not issue any commemorative medal. Rather, he is himself commemorated on one of the issues of Agathocles as $\Delta\text{HMHTPIOY}$ ANIKHTOY.³² The absence of any royal title with his name is significant. This is exactly in the same spirit in which Alexander Philip's son, Antiochus Niketor, Diodotus Soter and Euthydemus Theos on Agathocles' commemorative medallions,³³ and in which the commemorated kings on the coins of Antimachus I³⁴ and Eukratides,³⁵ are not given any royal title. It

29. G. B. I., p. 157.

30. J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 310.

31. B. M. C., Pl. XXX. 1; L. M. C. unrepresented type (i).

32. J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 303, no. 5; N. C. 1934, p. 229, Pl. III. 1.

33. Pl. III. 3-5; B. M. C., Plates IV. 2-3 and XXX. 5; L. M. C., Sec. I., p. 16, no. 41, Pl. II and p. 18; also see J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 303 for all the five commemorative types.

34. Pl. II. 2; L. M. C., Sec. I., p. 19, unrepresented types (i) and (ii).

35. Pl. V. 1; J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 304; Hirsh Sale Cat. 1912, Pl. XIV. 524; Naville Sale Cat., 5, Pl. LXXXI, no. 2896.

was so because these kings were no longer alive and ruling. Hence we are quite certain that the propaganda war through the medium of these commemorative coins belongs to a period posterior to the death of Demetrius I, who fell before 175 B.C. Antimachus and Agathocles, therefore, seem to have carried on the struggle for two to five years after this date. Since Antimachus was able to issue only two commemorative types and was nearer the field of activity of Eukratides, he must have been the first to fall. Agathocles, whose five propaganda types are known, may have been killed about 170 B.C. Eukratides' assassination may have taken place soon after this date. He was killed by his son when returning home in triumph,³⁶ possibly after killing Agathocles.

Agathocles is known to have made another shrewd move in this propaganda war. Besides seeking Greek support through pedigree coins, he tried to win over the good-will of his Buddhist subjects. With this motive he seems to have issued the two types with the Kharoshthī legend, "*Hirañasame*", i.e. Golden Hermitage.³⁷ Both the types bear on their obverse the Buddhist symbol, *Stūpa* surmounted by star. One of them has, in addition, the Kharoshthī legend "*Agathukreyasa*." In addition to the Kharoshthī legend "*Hirañasame*," one of them has on the reverse the symbol 𢃠 , while the other has a tree in railing. The absence of Greek legend indicates Agathocles' desire to canvass Indian support without the knowledge of his Greek compatriots. In other words, he was simultaneously looking for support among two mutually hostile sections of his subjects, the Greek and the Indian. Hence pure Greek legends in his pedigree series and pure Kharoshthī legends in his

36. Justin, XLI. 6.

37. Pl. III. 2; L. M. C. Sec. I, p. 18, types (ϵ) and (ζ), Pl. II. The legend was formerly read as "Hitajasame."

Buddhist series. The latter were merely a political manoeuvre.³⁸

The suggestion that Agathocles ruled over Taxila also is rightly rejected by Dr. Tarn.³⁹ It was argued that *Hirañasame* coins are copied from a Taxila coin, which shows the same reverse, but on the obverse, instead of a tree in rail, has a plant with the legend "Hirañasame," the last being the name of the district which issued coins as part of Taxila coinage. But it is not possible that Agathocles ruled in Taxila. Taxila was no longer in Greek hands at this late date. Even if it is the name of a district, *Hirañasame* cannot be identified with Taxila. Like other *Pañcha-nekame* coins, it may have been issued by a town other than Taxila. This town may as well have been situated west of the Indus.⁴⁰

38. Supra, pp. 46-47, where Dr. Tarn's erroneous conclusions are refuted.

39. G. B. I., pp. 160-61.

40. B. M. C., India, pp. cxxxii sq.

CHAPTER VI

DETERMINATION OF DATE

General Principles

We are quite certain about the chronology of some of the Indo-Greek princes. There is literary evidence to indicate that Diodoti (father and son), Euthydemus, Demetrius and Eukratides occupied the Bactrian throne in succession, that before them Bactria formed a satrapy of the Seleucid empire. The Seleucid prince Antiochus III lost it permanently, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, to Euthydemus, although even before this event, Diodoti - father and son - ruled over this satrapy independently. We are equally certain that certain other Greek princes, e. g. Antialkidas, Hermaeus etc., and the Saka and Parthian rulers who succeeded the Greeks in north-west India, flourished at a later period. When we compare the coins of these known early princes with those of the known late ones, we notice certain differences in style. But the changes are gradual. Each age seems to have had its own characteristic types. By studying changing tendencies in styles we can determine with a fair measure of accuracy, the relative date of a coin, and hence of the prince who issued it.

We find that on the coins of Diodoti and Euthydemus the borders are invariably formed of dotted circles.¹ Eukratides was the first Indo-Bactrian prince to discontinue this practice. He introduced "bead-and-reel" border.² This type of border was common on the coins of Antiochus the Great and other early Seleucid kings. By adopting a Seleucid tradition Eukratides, presumably, wanted to hint

1. Pl. I. 1-4; C.H.I., Pls. II, III and IV. 1 and 2.

2. Pl. V. 1-4; C.H.I., Pl. IV. 3-6.

at his affinity with them to the Greek followers of his enemy, Demetrius. In other words, this change over to "bead-and-reel" border formed part of the propaganda war with which we are familiar through the commemorative medallions of Antimachus and Agathocles on the one hand, and those of Eukratides on the other.³ Demetrius I, who had hitherto stuck to his father's type of plain dots, was now forced to switch over to "bead-and-reel" border⁴, in order to prove that he, too, derived his authority from the Seleucid house. Henceforward the princes of both the warring houses took to "bead-and-reel" border. Hence the conclusion that dotted circle was the earlier fashion and bead-and-reel border came into vogue during the reign of Eukratides. On this criterion we can assign the obscure princes to one of the two epochs.

Again we notice that on the coins of the earlier group of princes, the diadem-ends hang in a particular way. One end hangs stiffly down the back, while the other is allowed to waive in the air. That is so on the coins of Diodoti, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Antimachus and Demetrius II. This style had persisted in Bactria since the reign of Antiochus I. Eukratides was again the first to change the style of the Diadem. On his coins the two diadem-ends are suspended stiffly down. This style remained in vogue for some time. Heliocles I, Plato, Eukratides II and Menander followed this style. After them variations began to appear. Heliocles II tried to revert to the older style, but the waiving end on his coins is not exactly like it was on the coins of the earlier group. Strato I used both the styles—that of Eukratides and of Heliocles II. Euthydemus II, and Pantaleon, both of whom were sons of Demetrius and were the junior contemporaries of Eukratides, allowed both the ends to hang loosely in a waivy

3. Supra, Ch. V; C.H.I., pp. 450-54.

4. A.D.H. Bivar, Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz, J.N.S.I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 48, no. 11; also Neville Sale Cat. (Geneva 1923) no. 1790.

fashion. Thus diadem ends, too, give a rough indication of the epoch to which a particular coin belongs.

The coins of the earlier group of kings, e. g. Diodoti, Euthydemus, Demetrius, his brothers and sons, and Eukratides, exhibit a superior workmanship. The artistic quality goes on deteriorating with time, till we come to the very crude types of the later Indo-Greek princes. Hence the quality of art is also to be taken into account while determining the age of a coin.

Demetrius was the first to appear with draped shoulders, as also to adjust the dies ↑↑. Before him the bust consisted only of the head and the neck ; shoulders were seldom shown. The bust of his contemporary, Eukratides, on some coins, does show bare shoulders, though die-adjustment is the same. But soon he, too, changed over to draped shoulders.⁵

Then we have variations in the shape of certain Greek letters. Three or possibly four letters have changed their form on coins in course of time. They are Σ (sigma), Ο (omicron), Ω (omega), and on Parthian coins Ε (epsilon). We find that on the coins of later Indo-Greek princes, such as Antialkidas, Nikias, Hermaeus and others, as also on those of the Śaka princes of Azes group and the Parthian Gondophares and his successors, Σ has the alternative form □ or C, Ο has □, Ω has ω or ω, and on Parthian coins Ε becomes €. The square and the late round forms, in fact, begin to appear about the end of the Indo-Greek period. Demetrius, his brothers and sons, Eukratides, Heliocles I and II, Plato, Menander, Agathocleia and Strato I, Strato I alone and with Strato II never used the late forms. Apollodotus alone of this group can be cited as an exception. The forms C and ω appear only once on his coins, and then, too, as single letter monograms⁶, hence should be ignored. Our criterion, thus, of a very late age will be regular appearance of the late alternative forms.

5. Pl. V. 1-3 and 6-7; C.H.I., Pl. IV. 4-5.

6. L.M.C., Sec. I, nos. 246-47 for C and no. 248 for ω.

APOLLODOTUS I

Dr. A. K. Narain has argued⁷ that the appearance of the late forms of certain Greek letters, even as monograms, on the coins of Apollodotus, may indicate a late date. In support of his contention he refers to a type⁸, where this form is used even in the legend in the word CωTHP⁹. On these and other grounds he rejects the existence of Apollodotus I, i. e. an earlier king of this name, and asserts that the coinage was issued by the king designated by scholars as Apollodotus II, and that he may not have been far removed in time from Philoxenus, Antialkidas and Hippostratus¹⁰. But I cannot persuade myself to agree with him, and must again emphasise that our conclusions ought to be based on regular occurrences rather than on solitary exceptions, since we cannot assert that these forms were unknown in earlier times and were invented about the time of Antialkidas. On the contrary, the use of square lettering, e. g. of square omicron, is found at Athens in inscriptions dating from 3rd century B. C.¹¹. All we can say is that these forms were not popular, or they were not in vogue as numismatic script, during this particular epoch. That was, perhaps, the reason why Apollodotus, after experimenting with them on two of his earlier types¹²—twice as single letter monograms and once in a single word in the legend—discarded them and reverted to the older forms on subsequent issues, presumably in order to conform to the popular usage. Or more probably the CωTHP type is a fake. In fact, with the evidence at our disposal we can only associate with an epoch a particular vogue rather than the invention of a new form.

7. Indo-Greeks, pp. 65-66.

8. Ibid., p. 124.

9. L M.C., p. 27, unrepresented type (x)

10. Indo-Greeks, p. 66.

11. J. Marshall, J. R. A. S. 1947, p. 22. He refers to R. H. MacDowell, Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris, pp. 254-55.

12. Soter is definitely his earlier title

Moreover, stylistic nuances of this type should be ignored whenever in conflict with literary and other evidence of a more reliable nature, as it happens to be the case here. Justin¹³ names Apollodotus with Demetrius and Menander; and the *Mahābhārata*¹⁴ indicates his proximity in time to Demetrius. As regards Philoxenus and Hippostratus, I have not been able to locate these round forms, attributed to them by Dr. Narain, anywhere on their coins, though the latter has, no doubt, used the square omicron (\square), which incidentally corroborates the other evidence pointing to a late date.

Chronology Suggested by a Monogram

The relative chronological position of Eukratides, Heliocles, Menander and their sub-kings, as also of Antialkidas, is indicated by a very interesting monogram, namely no. 115. It occurs on only one type of Heliocles¹⁵ and again on a type of his sub-king, Diomedes¹⁶. Earlier, Eukratides had used it in a slightly varied form on one of his types.¹⁷ But it is common on the coins of Menander,¹⁸ occurring even on his earliest ones. Hence it appears that the person represented by this monogram shifted loyalty from Heliocles to Menander early in the latter's reign. Thus Menander cannot be placed earlier than Heliocles chronologically. This monogram occurs on the coins of Antimachus II Nikephoros¹⁹, Zoilus²⁰, Lysias²¹, Philoxenos²² and Theophilos²³ also. I regard them all

13. XLI.

14. Ädi Parvan, I38. 20—23.

15. I.M.C., Section I, :- 13, no. 1.

16. L.M.C., Section I, no. 220.

17. I.M.C., Sec. I, p. 12, nos. 18 and 21.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 22, no. 8 ; p. 23, no. 25; p. 26, nos. 73 and 77; p. 27, nos. 89, 93 and 96,

19. *Ibid.*, p. 29, no. 2.

20. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 524.

21. *Ibid.*, no. 165.

22. *Ibid.*, no. 581.

23. *Ibid.*, no. 632.

as the sub-kings of Menander, first three of them ruling at Kāpiśī and the last two at Pushkalāvati. On the death of Menander this region was annexed by Antialkidas, who is known from the Besnagar inscription²⁴ to have set up his capital at Taxila. Quite logically, this monogram is missing from the coins of Menander's son and successor, Strato I, and reappears on those of Antialkidas.²⁵ Obviously, the contractor represented by this monogram did not move out of Afghanistan on Strato being driven out from there.

Mules

Sometimes the coins of one king are found restruck, or call it recast, by another, thus clearly indicating their relative chronological position. Eukratides, for example, restruck with his Kāpiśī type the "Apollo : tripod" type of Apollodotus.²⁶ Evidently the latter's coins existed before Eukratides struck his Kāpiśī type. Apollodotus, therefore, was senior of the two. It must be remembered here that all Indo-Greek currency consisted of cast coins, i. e. the metal had to be smelted for casting these coins. The double impression on some of these coins was caused by the workman's error in choosing the right coin for use as negative while preparing his mould. Discovering that he had used the coin of an earlier king for obtaining his impression, he at once pressed on the wet clay mould another belonging to the ruling prince. This second coin, though giving a bolder impression, could not completely obliterate the earlier one. Hence the appearance of double impression on these coins. This technique of casting coins should be clearly understood before speculating on them.²⁷ Unfortunately, scholars have

24. Of Heliodorus, the ambassador of Antialkidas of Taxila in the court of Kautsiputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā. For text see Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91; J. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1055.

25. L.M.C., Section I, nos. 174, 192, 207.

26. Pl. V. 6.

27. For a detailed study see Dr. Birbal Sahni's work, "The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India."

rushed to hasty and fantastic conclusions from these recast coins without pausing to understand the process of manufacture. Such conclusions are based on the fallacious belief that this "restriking" was a deliberate and conscious operation, and signified acquisition of territory by one king from another²⁸. In fact, it is misleading to call these coins as "restruck". These are neither "restruck" nor "recast" coins. They are freshly cast ones obtained from moulds which received double impressions, through the mistake and laziness of the artisan. They can be better described as "mules" or "mule-casts."

THE LYSIAS-ANTIALKIDAS COIN

The case of Lysias is interesting in this context.

Elephant on one of his types²⁹ gives the location of his subkingdom in Kāpiśī.

Heracles, the Euthydemid family god, figures on all the types of Lysias. On one type³⁰ the king wears elephant scalp, the well known head-dress of Demetrius: On another³¹ he wears a kausia, reminding us of Antimachus Theos. Thus, there is no doubt that Lysias belonged to the family of Demetrius.

Most of the monograms found on his coins are commonly found on the coins of Menander³². Two of his monograms, e.g. no. 17 and Σ are also found on the coins of Strato.³³ Only one of his monograms, e.g. no. 36, is absent

28. See C.H.I., p. 555; Tarn, G. B. I., p. 212; the conclusion that Eukiatides annexed Kāpiśī, though correct, is based by these scholars on wrong premises. See also Tarn, op. cit., p. 316.

29. L.M.C., Sec. I., nos. 157-65.

30. Pl. IV. 1; L.M.C., no. 150; J.N.S.I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 51, no. 43, Pl. VI. 4.

31. L.M.C., Sec. I., no. 156.

32. E.g. mons. 120, 86, 18, 115 and Σ.

33. Cf. no. 17 on L.M.C., Sec. I., p. 14, nos. 5-7 of Lysias, and L.M.C., Sec. I., nos. 358 and 363 of Strato. Mon. Σ on L.M.C., Sec. I. nos. 151, 154, 156-65 of Lysias and no. 355 of Strato.

from the coins of Menander and Strato. Again, all his monograms, except no. 17 are also found on the coins of Antialkidas. Even Heliocles, believed to be the latter's father, shares the monograms Σ and no. 115 with Lysias. Community of monograms on their coins shows that the firms which were formerly minting coins for Menander, Lysias and Strato, began at a later date to mint for Heliocles and Antialkidas. This conclusion agrees with the known history of Kāpiśī. Shortly after Menander's death, Strato lost this district to Heliocles, who was succeeded by Antialkidas. An overstrike of the latter on a coin of Lysias³⁴ further confirms the fact that Antialkidas succeeded this king in these parts.

All this evidence points to the fact that Lysias was a sub-king of Menander at Kāpiśī. He possibly survived the latter for some time and continued to serve under Strato I. On all his coins his bust is that of a youngman. His reign, therefore, must have been a short one.

A great difficulty has been created in reconstructing the story of Lysias by a solitary coin in British Museum.³⁵ It is supposed to be a joint issue of Lysias and Antialkidas. The type is :—

Obv. :—Bust of bearded Heracles to r.

Legend, ANIKHTOY.

Rev. :—Pilei and palms of the Dioscuroi.

Legend, *Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amitilikitasa*.

This coin has excited considerable attention. Dr. Tarn, in particular, has made a lot of speculation on it. He states that it indicates some sort of rapprochement between the two rival Greek families.³⁶ The illogicality of this view is obvious. The presence at Kāpiśī of a Euthydemid contemporary of Antialkidas "is historical nonsense." On

34. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 172, Pl. III and N.C., 1950, p. 210 of Antialkidas is an overstrike on Lysias' type, L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 150.

35. B.M.C., Pl. XXXI. 2; L.M.C., Sec. I, unrepresented type (iv). See also J.N.S.I., XVI, 1954.

36. G.B.L., pp. 314-15.

Dr. Tarn's hypothesis Sir John Marshall aptly remarks, "When a coin bears the names of kings, without any indication of their relationship, it is natural to suppose that the king named on the obverse is the more important and senior of the two. It is hardly credible that a local princeling, reigning somewhere in the hills, would have the hardihood to relegate the great Antialkidas to an inferior position on the reverse of the coins which were struck in the latter's own mint and circulated in his own territories."³⁷ Dr. A. K. Narain seems to be correct when he says that this coin "may well be a 'mule'. The existence of a joint issue of these two kings could only be confirmed by the discovery of further specimens."³⁸

This coin may well be a spurious one. But if genuine, the following is the only logical explanation. As a result of a mistake in the workshop of the firm, which formerly minted for Lysias, an old die got mixed up with new ones. When adjusting them the workman hurriedly compared the obverse and reverse dies. Noticing that the first two words on the obverse die, e.g. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANIKHTOY, agreed with the first two words on the reverse die, e.g.; *Maharajasa Jayadharasa*, he was satisfied with his selection. He did not bother to read the names of the kings, little suspecting that an unwanted obverse die had got mixed up with those of Antialkidas. Thus a mule was produced. A mistake of this type can be repeated. Hence we cannot rule out the possibility of discovering more specimens of this type.

PORTRAITS SHOW AGING

Some very interesting coin-portraits have come down to us. They represent the king in various stages of life and thus help us in roughly fixing the duration of his reign. Most pronounced changes caused by aging are found in the effigies of Heliocles, Menander, Antialkidas and Strato I.

37. Taxila, I, p. 36.

38. Indo-Greeks, p. 116.

HELIOCLES

A youthful king appears on Heliocles' unilingual, i.e. Bactrian coins.³⁹ The portrait on his bilingual coins is of a fairly old and emaciated man of over fifty.⁴⁰ That the unilingual as well as bilingual types were issued by one and the same prince is clear from the common Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ found on all types, and identical depiction of 'Zeus standing to front holding thunderbolt' on at least two bilingual types.⁴¹ Further, the title Dikaios of the Greek legend is faithfully translated into Prakrit "dhamika" in the Kharoshthi legend. Hence I am not inclined to accept Dr. A. K. Narain's contention that there were two Heliocles and that Heliocles I issued only the unilingual coins and Heliocles II only the bilingual ones.⁴² The facial dissimilarity noticed by him on some of Heliocles' bilingual coins is partly due to aging and partly due to poor workmanship. Moreover, the Śakas are known to have driven out a certain Heliocles from Bactria in 135 B.C. Heliocles II, even if born in 170 B.C., the date of Eukratides' assassination by his son, could not have attained in 135 B.C. the age at which the king of the bilingual coins is depicted. Again, if all the unilingual coins are to be assigned to the king designated as Heliocles I by Dr. Narain, it was he, not the Heliocles of bilingual coins, who lost Bactria to the Śakas since he is the last Greek king whose coins are found north of the Hindu Koh and whose coin-types were crudely imitated by the Śaka nomads.⁴³ The king of unilingual coins is invariably youthful. If the Śakas immediately succeeded him in Bactria, the event will have to be dated decades before 135 B.C., the universally accepted date for it. Certainly

39. Pl. VI. 1; L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 133-42.

40. Pl. VI. 2; L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 147, Pl. III; I. M. C., Sec. I, Pl. III. 2; Narain, Indo-Greeks, Pl. II. 4, 6.

41. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 145-47 and unrepresented type (ii).

42. Indo-Greeks, p. 105.

43. Cf. C. H. I., p. 460.

Heliocles I, the prince who murdered his father, Eukratides, in 170 B.C., could not be so youthful about 135 B.C. as portrayed on unilingual coins.

Heliocles appears from his coin-types to have succeeded Eukratides I in all his extensive dominions. He maintained his hold over them for quite a few years before Apollodotus or Menander pushed him north of the Hindu Koh. His Zeus-Indra Vajrapāṇi type bearing only Greek legend⁴⁴ belongs to this period. His portrait on it is very youthful.

During his long reign of about 35 years Heliocles saw many vicissitudes. Apollodotus, or perhaps Menander, drove him out of Kabul and Kāpiśī. But after the latter's death in about 138 B.C., he not only recovered these but occupied even Pushkalāvatī. His "bust of king : elephant" and "elephant : humped bull" types⁴⁵ were minted at Kāpiśī and Pushkalāvatī respectively. They must have been issued after the recovery of these parts from Strato I. This is borne out by his overstrikes.⁴⁶ Joint issues of Agathocleia and Strato⁴⁷ and of Strato alone⁴⁸ are sometimes found restruck with the types of Heliocles,⁴⁹ an indication that his coins were produced later. He may even have occupied Taxila, where his successor, Antialkidas, is known to have held court.⁵⁰ Reoccupation of Kāpiśā-Gandhāra has to be dated about 135 B.C. to allow time first for the joint rule of mother and son and then of Strato alone.

44. Pl. VI. 1 ; L. M. C., Sec I, nos. 133-42.

45. L. M. C., Sec. I, types (γ) and (δ), nos. 148-49, Pl. III.

46. Prof. E. J. Rapson, "Coins of the Graeco-Indian Sovereigns, Agathocleia, Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopater." *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 246-47.

47. Pl. IV. 2 ; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 25.

48. Ibid., Pl. VI 16.

49. Ibid., Pl. VII. 35, "elephant" type. See C. H. I., p. 553.

50. Cf. Besnagar Inscription, Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 90-91; J. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1055; see also J. Ph. Vogel, A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 126.

Menander's empire under the care of his wife and child had considerably weakened. That explains Heliocles' success even in comparative old age. The Śaka menace from the north may have compelled him to look for a safer place across the Hindu Koh. And it is well that he did so, for a few years later, i.e. about 135 B.C., the Śakas overran Bactria. That may be the probable date of Heliocles' death. Chinese sources⁵¹ throw light on the conditions in which the Greeks were expelled by the Śakas from Bactria. Suma-Ch'ien and Chang Ch'ien did not have a high opinion about the fighting qualities of the Greeks.

MENANDER

Menander began to issue his coinage at a fairly tender age. It is, therefore, certain that his father, Apollodotus, soon after accession in 175 B.C., associated him in Government as sub-king. Born about 190 B.C., Menander was about fifteen at this time. That is just the age at which he is portrayed on his earliest coins.⁵² Later, about 158 B.C., he succeeded to Euthydemid sovereignty at the death of Apollodotus.

Late in his reign Menander got an opportunity to extend his dominions to the east. The powerful Śunga king Agnimitra died about 140 B.C. Menander took advantage by attacking his successor before he was firmly established. After a bloody battle Menander seems to have occupied the West Panjab. It is perhaps this battle that finds mention in the Garga Saṃhitā.⁵³ The Milindapañho speaks of his visit to Śakala (Sialkot) where he was converted to Buddhism by the Sage Nāgasena.⁵⁴

51. Shih-chi, Bk. 123. Ch'ien Han Shu, Bk. 96 a. Also Hou Han Shu. For references see Narain, Indo-Greeks, pp. 129-131 and 185.

52. Pl. III. 6; B.M.C., Pl. XI. 8-9; L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 379, Pl. VI; I.M.C., Sec. I, Pl. V. 1.

53. J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 1928, lines 47-48.

54. Ed. R. D. Vadekar, p. 1. But on p. 4, वाहिरकथा 9, it is stated that there was a king Milinda in Śakala *nagara*, situated in *Jambudvīpa*, and p. 23, वाहिरकथा 43, states that wandering through villages and cities in the company of *Bhikkhus*, Nāgasena arrived in Śakala.

Menander did not survive long after the occupation of Śakala. None of his coins have been found from this city though it is claimed to have been his capital. Had his rule lasted for any appreciable period, after he had occupied Śakala, we should have come across large hoards of his coins in this city. 140 B.C. being the date of occupation of Śakala, his death may have occurred about 138 B.C. A period of two years is long enough for what are suspected to be his Buddhist types.⁵⁵ Besides the "wheel" type these latter include those on which Menander assumes the title Dikaios or *Dhramika* (Skt. *Dhārmika*). Whitehead refers to only three silver and one or two copper ones.⁵⁶ Two of the silver types are almost identical, the only difference between them being that in one Nike is depicted in her conventional form and in the other in an unconventional one. Since these types do not represent one denomination, it need not be assumed that they were issued one after the other. Coins of all denominations are to be issued each year to meet the community's needs. It is significant that the bust of the king on all the Dikaios types "is that of an aged man, so it would appear that towards the end of his long reign the title of Menander on the coinage was altered from ΣΟΤΗΡ to ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ". On the basis of his aged bust alone, Menander's Buddhist coinage has to be confined to a short span of two to three years. Hence there can be little doubt that his death occurred less than three years after the occupation of Śakala. The date of this event can thus be fixed about 138 B.C. This will give him a span of about twenty years of independent rule, besides another decade and a half for his rule as sub-king.

55. (a) "Wheel: palm branch," B.M.C., Pl. XII. 7; L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 63, unrepresented type (vii); C.A.S.E., Pl. XII. 13.

(b) DIKAIOS types: two or three main types with slight variations are known, cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, pp. 59-63, type (θ), (ο) and unrepresented types (ι), (ii), (viii) and (xi). Types (θ), (ι) and (ii) form one variety and types (ο), (viii) and (xi) the other.

56. L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 59 n.

ANTIALKIDAS

On his earliest types, presumably issued as sub-king, the bust of king Antialkidas is that of a man of about twenty.⁵⁷ His middle age portrait is found on other coins.⁵⁸ On his last coins he is portrayed as a very old and bearded man.⁵⁹ His long reign is confirmed by an independent evidence. The Garuḍa Pillar inscription at Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) near Gwalior provides evidence to the effect that his reign had not yet ended in 103 B.C. This inscription records the "setting up of a Garuḍa pillar (dhvaja, i.e. flag post) in honour of the god of gods, Vāsudeva, by the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus, son of Dion, and a Bhāgavata by faith, who hailed from Takshashilā and had come from the great king Antialkidas to the court of the Saviour king Kautsiputra Bhāgabhadra during the latter's 14th prosperous regnal year."⁶⁰

King Bhāgabhadra of this inscription has been identified with Bhāga or Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga king in the Purāṇa lists. But the discovery of a second Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar dated in the 12th regnal year of a king Bhāgavata⁶¹ has led some scholars to doubt this identification. It has been suggested that Bhāgavata should be identified with the 5th Śuṅga king who is variously named as Odraka, Andhraka or Bhadraka. But this suggestion is very weak,

57. L.M.C., Sec. I, no 192, Pl. III.

58. *Ibid.*, nos. 172 and 189, Pl. III.

59. *Ibid.*, nos. 193, 197 and 211, Pl. IV. The first depicts him as a man of over 60.

60. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 90-91. J. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1055. Cf. also J. Ph. Vogel, A.S.I., 1908-9, p. 126. The inscription reads :—

[द]वदेवस वा[सुदे]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं कारिते इ [अ] हेलिओदोरेण
भागवतेन दिग्रस पुत्रेण तश्वसिलाकेन योनदूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस
अंतलिकितस उप [+] ता सकासं रजो [को]सीपु[त्र]स [भ]गभद्रस त्रातारस
वसेन च[तु]दसेन वधमानस [॥]

61. A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 90, *Memoirs of the A.S.I.*, no. 5, p. 152.

since this king is credited with a reign of only two or seven years.⁶² Bhāgavata, on the other hand, is given thirtytwo years' reign by the same Purāṇa lists. The practice of replacing the last part of a younger person's name by the suffix *Bhadra* was quite common among the elderly persons in ancient India. It denoted affection. In the *Uttara-Rāma-Charitam* of Bhavabhūti⁶³, the old chamberlain felt embarrassed when through force of habit he had addressed the newly appointed king as Rāmabhadra; and Rāmachandra, magnanimously approved of this old practice on the part of his father's officials. The use of this suffix in the inscription shows that Heliodorus was an elderly person and had represented his king even in the court of king Bhagavata's father. He had seen Bhāgavata as a youth and was used to addressing him affectionately as Bhāgabhadra.

Now the 14th regnal year of Bhāgavata fell, according to Puranic calculations, about the year 100 B.C. Probably, Antialkidas did not survive long after this date. We may assume that he died about 95 B.C. after a long reign of about 40 years as an independent ruler.

Strato I

The most revealing portraits are those of Strato I. Raised to Menander's throne at the tender age of fifteen, he immediately began to issue coins, first jointly with his mother, Agathocleia, then independently through many decades and at the fag-end of his life, as also of his dynasty's rule, again jointly with his grandson Strato II. He survived even his grandson and issued certain types alone. His bust on these shows the ravages of time to a more pronounced degree than on his joint issues with Strato II.⁶⁴

62. Cf. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-33 and 70.

63. *Act I.*

64. Compare his face on Pl. IV. 6, a joint issue, with Pl. IV. 7.

Thus on his abundant coinage he is portrayed almost at every stage of life from middle teens, through the middle age with a bearded face, to an advanced old age with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks, a vivid testimony to a long life and a long reign. On the basis of these portraits we can assign him a life-span of more than seventy years. Thus ascending Menander's throne in about 138 B.C. he must have continued to rule till about 80 B.C.

Strato's coins are of great interest on other accounts also. They will, therefore, be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter under the head 'Joint Issues'.

CHAPTER VII

JOINT ISSUES

We have already discussed some joint types which were issued in the course of the propaganda war. Of the two kings figuring on these propaganda or pedigree types only one was alive and ruling, while the other, a past king, was merely being commemorated. But there is another class of joint issues which we propose to study in this chapter. Both of the princes figuring on this kind of coins were alive and ruling at the time, one as the sovereign and the other as a subordinate ruler. Often the subordinate prince, whose legend appeared on the reverse, was the son or the grandson of the sovereign, and was associated in government.

AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO I

Menander's sudden death in battle threw the burden of governing his empire on the weak shoulders of his queen, Agathocleia, and minor son, Strato. There is no direct evidence to prove their relationship. But Agathocleia appears from her name to have been a sister of Agathocles. Her 'Heracles' type¹ should also make her a daughter of Demetrius. Her close relation with Menander is borne out by the find-spots as well as the types of her coins. Her coins issued jointly with her minor son and those of Strato alone cover almost the same area over which Menander is known to have ruled. In point of time Agathocleia and Strato I are to be placed next to Menander. There is no room for them before the latter's reign. Certain common monograms connect them with the later group of Indo-Greek rulers.² And Strato's types provided

1. Pl. IV. 2; L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 370, Pl. V.

2. E.g. mon. 100 with Zoilus, no. 17 with Archebius and Polyxenos, no. 88 with Philoxenos, Amyntas and the Saka king Maues. See L. M. C. Sections I and II under these kings.

models to the Šaka ruler Maues, who seems to have succeeded the Greeks as the ruler of west Panjab and Sindh. A queen and her minor son are least expected to come to power through violence and revolution. Their succession to Menander's dominions could only have resulted from their legal and natural claim. Hence the general view of scholars that she was the queen of Menander.

Circumstances compelled Agathocleia to assume regency of her minor son. The coins issued by her in this capacity, jointly with Strato I, further confirm the assumption that she was Menander's queen. Rapson³ and others⁴ have noted the striking resemblance of Agathocleia's bust found on her coinage with the portrait of Menander's favourite deity Athena or Pallas. Portraiture of Pallas on Menander's coins is executed in two distinct styles. One class of his coins depicts this deity in her conventional form⁵. But there is another class whereon we do not find the conventional figure of Athene Promachos.⁶ Instead, the bust is so realistic as to suggest that it was the portraiture of a living human form. Curiously enough these busts of Pallas have a striking resemblance with the bust of Agathocleia, as portrayed on her coins. The obvious deduction is that Menander, at one stage, wanted his people to believe that his human wife was the incarnation of the goddess Pallas. Presumably, the king himself considered her appearance as god-like. Menander's ideas about her appearance may have been at the back of her assumption on coins of the title "Theotropos" (i.e. god-like).

3. Corolla Numismatica ; and C. H. I., p. 552, n. 1.

4. Tarn, G. B. I., p. 265 ; A. N. Lahiri, J. N. S. I., XVI, Pt. II, 1954, pp. 189-90.

5. E.g. Pallas with aegis on outstretched l. arm, hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. See Pl. III. 6-8; also L. M. C., Sec., I, nos. 373-479 and 503-506, eleven types in all.

6. Ibid., nos. 480 and 482, Pl. VI.

In this context Prof. A. N. Lahiri's observation on another coin⁷ assumes plausibility. He writes, "on a coin (P.M.C., p. 61, Pl. VI. 506, wrongly described as 'helmeted bust of king and Pallas') we see on the obverse not the bust of the king, but the bust of a female person in helmet, who cannot be identified with Athena, as the thundering figure of the same is depicted on the reverse. She was the helmeted queen of Menander, who has a strange similarity in features with the helmeted bust of Queen Agathocleia as seen on her coins."⁸

Prof. Lahiri believes⁹ that the letter A found in addition to a monogram on the "elephant : club" type of Menander¹⁰ represents the name of Agathocleia. This letter A invariably occurs on some legendless gold staters, which should be assigned to Agathocleia. These staters bear helmeted female bust on the obverse and an owl on the reverse. Whitehead¹¹ and Altekar¹² who for obvious reasons identified the female figure with Pallas, have tentatively attributed these coins to Menander since he alone struck "bust of Pallas : owl" coins. But it is inexplicable why a king of the eminence of Menander should not have put his legend on the only gold coins assignable to him. Prof. Lahiri seems to be right in assigning these to Agathocleia.¹³ She must have issued them shortly

7. Pl. III. 6.

8. J. N. S. I., XVI, Pt. II, 1964, p. 190. But we have, following Sir J. Marshall, Taxila, vol. I, p. 30, assumed it to be Menander's portrait at an early age, further that he started his career as a young sub-king of his father. See supra p. 81. Prof. Lahiri's suggestion, if accepted, does not damage our basic chronology with respect to Menander's accession as a full-fledged king.

9. Loc. cit.

10. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 507.

11. N. C., 1940, p. 105, Pl. VIII. 1.

12. J. N. S. I., XI, pp. 45-46, Pl. I. 2.

13. J. N. S. I., XVI, Pt. II, 1954, p. 190.

after the sudden death of Menander, and hesitated to insert her own name in the legend. The situation demanded that the great king's death should be kept a closely guarded secret, not only from the people at large but also from the external enemies, till the queen was able to consolidate her position. She had also to take stock of the natural disinclination of people to accept a woman's rule, and guard against the possibility of a coup.

The figure of a warrior king on the reverse of some of Agathocleia's coins provides another clue to her relation with Menander.¹⁴ It may have been intended to represent the late king. A similar figure occurs as the obverse type on Menander's coins, where it is most naturally explained as that of Menander himself.¹⁵

Her four known types provide an interesting commentary on how rapidly power slipped out of Agathocleia's hands. Chronologically they are :—

1. Copper, square. Several coins known¹⁶ :—

Obv.: Bust of queen to r., without diadem, but helmeted. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev.: Naked Heracles sitting to l. on a rock with a club on knee, as on coins of Euthydemus. Kh. legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*.

2. Silver drachm ; several coins known¹⁷ :—

Obv.: Diad. bust of queen to r., Greek legend as on 1 above.

Rev.: Warrior with shield and spear walking to r. Kharoshthi legend as on 1 above.

14. *Corolla Numismatica*, Pl. XII. 4. Reference from C.H.I., p. 552

15. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 515, Pl. VI.

16. Pl. IV. 2; L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 370, Pl. V; B.M.C., Pl. XI. 6.

17. I.M.C. Sec. I, p. 21, Pl. IV. 11; J.N.S.I., XVI, 1954, Pl. I. 32; L.M.C. Sec. I, p. 53, unrepresented type (ii).

3. Silver, Indian Tetradrachm, unique¹⁸ :—

Obv.: Conjugate busts of Strato, diademed, and Agathocleia. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev.: Pallas hurling thunderbolt (i. e. Athena Promachos). Kh. legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa Agathukriae*.

3a. Silver, Indian tetradrachm. Several coins known¹⁹ :—

Obv.: Type and legend as on type 3 above.

Rev.: Type as on type 3 above, but Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*.

On types 1 and 2 Agathocleia holds the place of honour. Her bust as well as her full titles in Greek appear on the obverse. Strato's name and titles, on the other hand, are relegated to the reverse and his portrait is missing. These two types—one copper, the other silver—were issued when Agathocleia was in full control of the Government. Since they are on different denominations, it is to be presumed that these two types of coins were issued in a single batch. It would appear that her status as the senior ruler lasted a brief period, may be a mere half year. Gradually she was forced to abdicate power in favour of young Strato. Two distinct steps in this process are noticeable on types 3 and 3a. Jugate busts of the Queen and Strato appear on the obverse, but only Strato wears the diadem. On type 3, Strato's legend with titles in full appears on the Greek as well as the Kharoshthī side, and Agathocleia's name without any title is appended to the legend on both sides. She is no longer a ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ and ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ. On type 3a, even her name disappears from the Kharoshthī side.

18. Num. Chron., 1950, p. 215; J.N.S.I., XVI, Pt. II, 1954 p. 311.

19. Pl. IV. 3; L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 52, unrepresented type (i)

It has usually been suggested that Strato, impatient to assume power, ousted his mother. But it must be noted that Strato is depicted as a boy in his middle teens even on some of the coins he issued as a full-fledged monarch.²⁰ At such a tender age, when he had little experience of life, we cannot credit him with a political move of such a far-reaching character. There must have been at work in the Greek court some other forces which forced the issue. And these forces must have been Indian, since her eclipse was first announced on the Kharoshthī side.

Thus about the age of fifteen Strato was raised to Menander's throne. On his abundant coinage he is portrayed almost at every stage of life from middle teens through the middle age with a bearded face, to an advanced old age with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks, a vivid testimony to a long life and a long reign.²¹ We can assign him about seventy years of life. Starting joint rule in about 138 B.C. at the age of fifteen, he must have come to majority and assumed full power in about 135 B.C. His reign may have lasted till about 80 B.C.

STRATO I AND STRATO II

During the last years of his reign Strato I associated his grandson, Strato II Philopator, in government. This joint rule is signified by their joint issues,²² on which the names of both, Strato I Soter and his grandson Strato II Philopator, are inscribed in Greek as well as Kharoshthī legends.

The legends on one such type are :—

Obv. : BACIΛΕΩC CΩTHPC CTPATΩNC [KAI φΙΛΟ] / CTPATΩNC

Rev. : Kh. legend, *Maharajanam tratasa Stratasa potrasa casa priyapita* / *Stratasa*²³

20. Pl. IV. 4 ; cf. Dr. Narain, Indo-Greeks, Pl. III. 1 and 2.

21. See Plate IV. 3 to 7.

22. L.M.C., Sec. I, types (α) and (β), nos. 643-47.

23. Pl. IV. 6 ; C.H.I., p. 589, Pl. VII. 23.

In the Kharoshthi legend the younger Strato is described as the *potra* or grandson of the senior Strato. The bust is that of an aged man who must be Strato I. No issues of Strato II alone are known. Rather on certain types of Strato I alone²⁴ his face shows greater ravages of time than on his joint issues with his grandson: Evidently he survived even Strato II. The end came suddenly during Strato's helpless old age. Thus Strato lived long enough to witness the disappearance of the last traces of Greek rule in north-west India. About 80 B.C. the Śakas led by king Maues²⁵ spread all over the region previously under the control of the Indo-Greeks. Maues shares with him the monograms 17²⁶ and 88²⁷, indicating proximity in time.

Hermaeus and Calliope

Hermaeus, the last but one Indo-Greek prince to rule south of the Hindu Koh, is known to have issued a type of hemidrachms in association with his queen, Calliope.²⁸ The purpose is not known. The type is:—

Cbv.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ. Conjugate diademed bust of king and queen to r.

Rev.: *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayas Kaliyapaya.*
King, panoplied and armed, on horse prancing to r.

The general conjecture is that Calliope belonged to the house of Eukratides, and Hermæus to that of Euthydemus. Marriage of the two ended the long-standing feud between these ruling houses. This silver type was issued

24. Compare his face on Pl. VI. 6, a joint issue with Pl. VI. 7.

25. According to C.H.I., p. 554, it was Azes who overthrew Strato. But I believe Azes came to occupy Panjab after Maues.

26. See L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 363 of Strato and Sec. II, no. 10 of Maues.

27. See ibid., Sec. I, no. 356 of Strato and Sec. II, nos. 3, 5 etc. of Maues.

28. L. M. C.. Section I, no. 693, Pl. IX.

to commemorate the event. It is significant that the queen's bust, too, is diademed. She, therefore, had some claim to the throne. Probably she was the daughter of Peukolaos, who briefly ruled over Kāpiśī-Pushkalavatī region. Hermaeus, who had something to do with Peukolaos' destruction, married the young princess and associated her for political reasons on his first issue. But soon he felt confident enough to discard the pretension and began to issue coins in his own name.

HERMAEUS AND KADPHISES

There are a couple of types on which Hermaeus is associated with the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises. Two types are known :—

1. Obv.: Bust of Hermaeus, diademed, to r.
Above, BA□IΛΕΩΣ ΣTHP□ΣΣΥ. Below, EPMAI□Y.
- Rev.: Herakles facing, with lion's skin on l. arm ; club in r. hand resting on ground. Kharoshṭhī legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana ya[vugasa dhramathidasa]*.²⁹
2. Obv.: K□Z□YΛ□Y / KAΔΦΙΖ□Y / K□P□□Λ□Y.
Diademed bust of Hermaeus to r. The corrupt Greek legend varies on different coins.
- Rev.: Herakles standing to front, with r. hand resting on club, and lion's skin over l. arm. Kharoshṭhī legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa dhramathidasa*. In field, Kharoshṭhī *sam*.³⁰

On the basis of these types Hermaeus was formerly believed to have flourished close to the beginning of Kushāna rule. But it has now been generally accepted that the Kushāna king, Kujula Kadphises, never ruled jointly with Hermaeus³¹. These joint issues were minted, long

29. Pl. IV. 10; L. M. C., Section III, no. 1, Pl. XVII.

30. *Ibid.*, no. 8, Pl. XVII.

31. A. D. H. Bivar, Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz, J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, pp. 42-43.

after Hermaeus' death, by Kujula Kadphises by way of propaganda. Through these coins he seems to have claimed his title to the throne from one of the last Greek rulers. The basis of his claim is not known. It probably rested on some marriage alliance with the ousted Greek house. The defective Greek legends rule out any probability of Hermaeus or any other Greek prince or commoner having had anything to do with these types.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY AFFILIATIONS

HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMUS

Our knowledge of the family affiliations of the Indo-Greek princes is mainly derived from their coins. The only relationship recorded in literature is that of Euthydemus and Demetrius. Polybius¹ refers to Euthydemus' son and successor, Demetrius, who is said to have conducted negotiations on behalf of his father with Antiochus III. The latter was so deeply impressed with the youngman that he promised to give his daughter in marriage to him.

Prof. Macdonald has established from their coins the existence of the following princes of the Euthydemid family :—Antimachus, Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon and Agathocles.² A brief review of the evidence adduced and the conclusions derived therefrom may provide necessary background for understanding the Euthydemid genealogy as finally reconstructed in these pages.

ANTIMACHUS, PANTALEON AND AGATHOCLES

Antimachus Theos and Agathocles both claim descent on their pedigree coins from Euthydemus, and therefore, both must belong to the Euthydemid dynasty.³ Apart from this, the border of plain dots and draped shoulders, as found on their coins, place them close to Demetrius I.

1. XI. 34. 10.

2. C. H. I., pp. 447-54.

3. Pl. II. 2 of Antimachus Theos, and Pl. III. 5 of Agathocles.

Pantaleon is intimately connected in the matter of chronology, person and locality with Agathocles. Their coin-types are almost identical, in some cases the only difference lying in the names of the princes. Pantaleon's "city goddess : leopard" type⁴ is identical with Agathocles' similar type.⁵ So are their "Dionysos: leopard" types of nickel as well as copper coins.⁶ On all these types the Prakrit legend is in Brāhmī characters, not in the usual Kharoshṭhī. It is certain that one of these two princes succeeded the other at Pushkalāvatī. The senior of the two must have been Pantaleon, whose coins are very rare, and only three of whose types have survived. Pantaleon must have met a violent end and a younger brother was probably called upon to take his place.

EUTHYDEMUS II

Certain nuances of style were started by Demetrius I, while certain others he was the last to adopt on his coins. He was the first to be represented with draped shoulders, a fashion that became universal after him. Among the Euthydemids he was the first to adopt "bead-and-reel" border on some of his coins, perhaps in imitation of his rival, Eukratides. The diadem style, in which one end was allowed to fly out freely behind while the other hung stiffly down the back, came to an end about his time. After him it occurs only on a few coins of Antimachus and of Demetrius II.

The types of coins bearing the legend of Euthydemus can be divided into two groups, each belonging to a different period—one group belonging to the pre-Demetrius era and the other to post-Demetrius one. The coins⁷ with draped shoulders, the novel arrangement of diadem ends,

4. L. M. C., Sec. I, no 35, Pl. II.

5. Ibid., no. 45, Pl. II. Figure wrongly described as "dancing girl".

6. J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 301 and B. M. C., Pl. III, 8 of Pantaleon; L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 43 of Agathocles.

7. See C. H. I., p. 464, Pl. III. 4; L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 27.

both flying out behind, place Euthydemus of one group⁷ after Demetrius. Some nickel coins⁸, from which the king's portrait is missing, have also to be assigned to a younger Enthydemus. In the whole range of Indo-Greek coinage, nickel was used only by Pantaleon and Agathocles. It was not used by Demetrius. Therefore, it could not have been used by his father, Euthydemus I. Hence the author of these coins was a second Euthydemus, who, according to the Greek system of nomenclature, should either be the younger brother or the eldest son of Demetrius I.

DEMETRIUS II

The existence of a second Demetrius is proved by two or three tetradrachms and drachms.⁹ These bear a youthful bust which does not resemble that on the other coin-types of Demetrius. "Bead-and-reel" border on one of the two types, assigned to Demetrius II in the British Museum Catalogue would place it after the beginning of Eukratides' coins. A youthful portrait on it cannot fit in with the age of Demetrius I at this date. This type, therefore, was issued by a second Demetrius, who should, according to Greek practice, be the second son of Demetrius I.

Of Euthydemus II and Demetrius II, neither has left any pedigree coins. It is most probable, therefore, that they were the first to fall before the onslaught of Eukratides. Rarity of their coins also points to brief reigns.

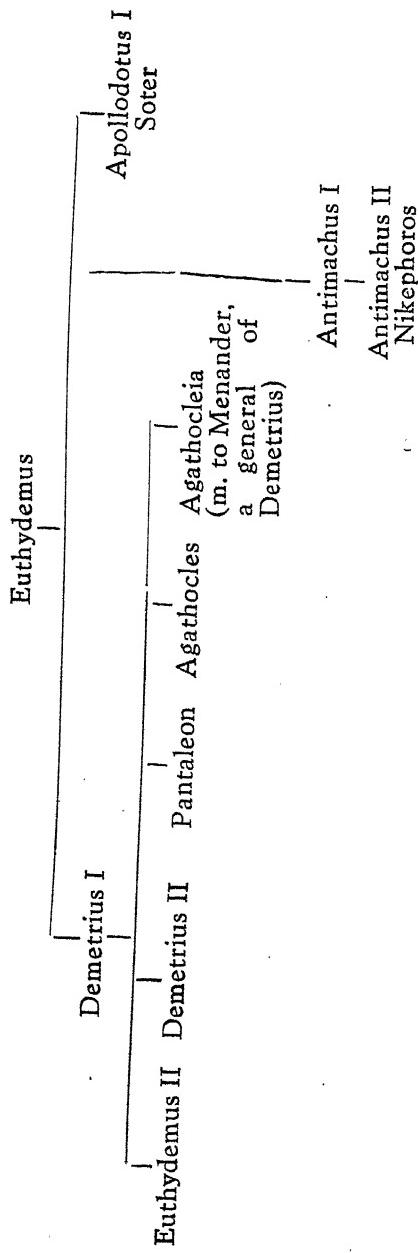
Thus Macdonald arrives at the conclusion that these five princes, namely, Antimachus, Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon and Agathocles, belong to the family of Euthydemus I and Demetrius I.

7. Pl. II. 3.

8. With type, "Apollo : tripod", L.M.C., Sec. I., nos. 29-31.

9. See C. H. I., p. 464 and Pl. III. 5. Also infra, Pl. II. 4.

With the conclusions of Dr. Macdonald to guide him, Dr. Tarn¹⁰ has reconstructed Euthydemid genealogy as under :



10. G.B.I. pp. 75-78.

Dr. Tarn has placed great reliance on the coin-portraits of these kings, particularly on those struck in Bactria. These life-like portraits sometimes strikingly confirm facts already known from other sources.

Fresh Reconstruction of Euthydemid Genealogy

A re-examination of coins in the light of new evidence has induced me to effect certain modifications in this family tree. As a result, the Euthydemid genealogy can now be carried at least three generations further, and I believe, to the last descendant of Euthydemus.

ANTIMACHUS I

We know from one of Antimachus' pedigree coins,¹¹ on which the name of Euthydemus Theos occurs, that he was the latter's son. The peculiar smile on the coin-portraits of Antimachus¹² re-occurs, though rendered with less subtlety, on Euthydemus' portrait on a pedigree coin of Agathocles¹³, who is otherwise known to be a grandson of Euthydemus.¹⁴ From this resemblance Dr. Tarn guessed that Antimachus, whose smile a later Euthydemid tried to copy, must belong to the Euthydemid family, and should be assigned to the generation intervening between Euthydemus and Agathocles. In other words, he was a son of Euthydemus and a brother to Demetrius. Tarn further believes that he was the second son, the third being Apollodotus.¹⁵ But there are reasons to assume, as we shall presently see, that the order of seniority between the two was just the reverse. Antimachus Theos had nothing to do with India, since none of his coins bears legend in an Indian script. The solitary type with the Kharoshthī

11. Lying in British Museum; see L.M.C., p. 19. See also infra, Pl. II. 2.

12. Pl. II. 1; and C. H. I., Pl. III. 8.

13. Pl. III. 5; G. B. I., Pl., no. 2; and C. H. I., Pl. IV. 2.

14. Cf. his pedigree coins commemorating Euthydemus and Demetrius, B. M. C., Pl. IV. 3 and N. C., 1934, Pl. III. 1 respectively. See also J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 303, and infra, Pl. III. 5.

15. G. B. I., p. 76.

legend¹⁶ is a much inferior work artistically and must be assigned to a later king, Antimachus Nikephoros.

APOLLODOTUS I

Apollodotus I Soter has left numerous coins. But none of them contains his portrait unless he is identical with the king Apollodotus who styles himself both "Soter and Philopator". The latter's coins contain his portrait. But Prof. Rapson,¹⁷ Dr. Tarn¹⁸ and Dr. Marshall¹⁹ take him to be a much later king. We shall shortly discuss this view.

The copper coins of Apollodotus bear types "Apollo : tripod"²⁰ in evident allusion to the king's name. These were "restruck" by Eukratides, with his own Kāpiśī types²¹, i. e. he struck them in the kingdom of Kāpiśā lying immediately to the south of the Hindu Koh. This may indicate that the territory once controlled by Apollodotus had passed into the hands of Eukratides. Consequently, Apollodotus was a contemporary, a senior contemporary, of Eukratides,²² and therefore, must belong to the generation of Demetrius. There is more evidence to support this. Apollodotus' coin-type "elephant : Indian bull"²³ which most probably symbolised the association of the tutelary divinities of the cities of Kāpiśī and Pushkalāvati²⁴, was continued to be struck by Heliocles,²⁵ the son and successor of Eukratides. Evidently Heliocles' rule in these regions, like that of his father, belongs to a

16. Pl. III. 9; L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 557; C. H. I., Pl. VI. 2.

17. C. H. I., pp. 549 and 552.

18. G. B. I., pp. 318-19.

19. Taxila, p. 31 and n. 2.

20. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 4.

21. Ibid., Pl. VII. 36.

22. Ibid., pp. 547 and 555.

23. Ibid., Pl. VI. 7.

24. See supra, p. 30. Coins with this type are found commonly in Afghanistan.

25. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 8.

period posterior to Apollodotus. Use of Attic weight standard by Apollodotus also proves a comparatively early date of this king.²⁶ And the fact that he ruled over the territories conquered by Demetrius, used the titles Basilios/*Mahārāja* (king) and Soter/*Trātar* (Saviour) and issued his own currency in abundance, leaves no doubt that he was closely related to Demetrius. On one issue²⁷, in addition to the epithet Soter kai Philopator, he adopted even the higher title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ (i.e. Great King), probably to rival the identical title of his enemy, Eukratides. There is no room for a Great King Apollodotus at any time except during the interval between the death of Demetrius and the accession of Menander. Moreover, he seems to have been closer to Demetrius than even Antimachus who, as we know from his pedigree series, was the latter's brother. His abundant coinage covers almost the whole of the empire of Demetrius, a circumstance that proves that he succeeded to the entire kingdom of Demetrius and ruled over it as a "Great King", i. e. as a sovereign. Hence the conclusion that he was the second son of Euthydemus, not the third, as Dr. Tarn asserts.²⁸ Had Antimachus been the second son of Euthydemus, it would have been his right to succeed Demetrius, whom he is known to have survived.

It has been asserted that there were two Apollodoti, the earlier of whom bore the title, "Soter" only; while the second Apollodotus assumed two titles, "Soter" and "Philopator", which he used on coins either singly or in combination.²⁹ According to Dr. Tarn,³⁰ "Philopator's

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 547-48 and 555.

27. Pl. I. 8; B. M. C., Pl. X. I; L. M. C., Sec. I. p. 49. unrepresented type (i); J. N. S. I., XVI, pp. 312-13.

28. G. B. I., p. 76.

29. Rapson, C. H. I., pp. 549 and 552; Tarn, G. B. I., pp. 318-19; Marshall, Taxila, p. 31.

30. G. B. I., p. 318.

monograms, and notably his Kharoshthī letters, suffice" to prove his separate existence. He shares the monogram 22 with Dionysius and Zoilus³¹. The type is also the same³². It has been contended that the monogram is the moneyer's mark. And a common moneyer or mint-master should prove proximity of these three kings in time. Hence this Apollodotus was a much later king. But we have already seen the possibility of a monogram continuing for periods longer than the life-span of a single man.³³ Hence they provide rather a slippery ground to erect theories on, and should not be used against evidence of a more reliable kind. On this very evidence we can place Dionysius and Zoilus in an earlier period rather than pulling Apollodotus to a later date. Dr. Tarn himself admits "considerable difficulties" in accepting the existence of a second Apollodotus. He enumerates them and tries to explain them away:³⁴ But his efforts fail to convince.

In fact, coins provide enough internal evidence to prove that all the known Apollodotus types were issued by one and the same king. His Kharoshthī titles on the reverse are invariably *Mahārāja* and *Trātar* even when on the obverse he adopted the additional title, Philopator, "Basileos Soteros kai Philopatoros" being the full obverse title. The Kharoshthī titles do not change even on the Basilius Megas coins. The title "Philopator" is never used singly. Whenever used, it is added to the universal epithet "Soteros", and hence appears to have been assumed by the king during the later part of his reign. Even the "bust of king : Pallas" types cannot be isolated from the others which

31. Zoilus II, according to Dr. Tarn.

32. Compare L. M. C., Sec. I, p. 42, no. 258 of Apollodotus with B. M. C., p. 51, no. 1, Pl. XIII. 9 or J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 324 of Dionysius and B. M. C., p. 53, no. 3, Pl. XII. 11 and L. M. C., Sec. I, p. 66, nos. 534-38, Pl. VII of Zoilus.

33. Supra, pp. 49-50.

34. G. B. I., pp. 318-19.

do not bear the king's portrait. They are inseparably connected by many common features. Thus "bust of king : Pallas"³⁵ and "Apollo : tripod-lebes"³⁶ types have the same Greek legend, namely, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. Coins belonging to different types are connected by common monograms³⁷. In fact, no type can be isolated from the others on any ground, be it titles, monograms, divinities or legends whether Greek or Kharoshthi. Hence the conclusion that they were issued by one and the same king. And this king ruled over an area wide enough to justify his claim to the title of Great King. Thus we are justified in assuming the existence of only one Apollodotus. And he was the younger brother and successor of Demetrius I.

External evidence noted by Tarn³⁸ also points to the existence of only one Apollodotus. A hoard of 221 coins was found at Amarkot near Dera Ismail Khan on the Indus. It consisted solely of Apollodotus' drachmae—82 of Soter, 96 of Philopator, and 43 too worn to be deciphered.³⁹ Soter and Philopator, therefore, were the titles of one and the same prince. An overstrike by Azes⁴⁰ on a coin of Apollodotus need not suggest his nearness in time to the former or to Hippostratus whose coins are also found overstruck by the same Azes type. It merely shows that the coins of Apollodotus were available to Azes, who was a later king. In fact, these so called

35. L. M. C., Sec. I, p. 42. (δ) type.

36. Ibid., (Λ) type.

37. See ibid. Mon. 51 occurs on type (β) no. 249 and (ϵ) no. 300. Mon. 220 occurs on types (γ) no. 258, (η) no. 322 and (k) no. 345. Mon. 53 occurs on (γ) no. 263 and (δ) no. 183. Kh. mon. *ram* is common on types (γ) no. 262 and (η) no. 329 etc.

38. G. B. I., pp. 318-19.

39. W. Vost, J. A. S. B., V, 1909; Num. Supp. XI.

40. L. M. C., p. 123, no. 244.

"overstrikes" have altogether a different explanation.⁴¹ These are cast coins. Conversion of one type into another was made only after smelting the metal, a process which could not leave the earlier impression intact. Double impression, however, was received by the wet clay mould into which the molten metal was poured for casting the coin. Older coins were used as negatives for stamping impressions on new moulds. Having discovered that he had used a wrong coin as his negative the workman tried to obliterate the earlier impression by pressing the right coin over the wet clay mould, and obtained a double impression.

I fail to appreciate the tendency of some scholars to go on multiplying the number of these Indo-Greek princes on the pretext of slightest variations in types. After all there is a limit to the number of kings that can be squeezed into a span of about a century and in the limited area in which they can be accommodated.

Dr. A. K. Narain has rightly rejected the existence of two Apollodoti⁴². But it is difficult to accept his other contention, namely that Apollodotus was a contemporary of Strato I, with whom he ruled as a joint king, and that he was "an effective joint-ruler, who first managed to recover most of the western regions of Strato's kingdom from kings of other families, and ultimately gathered so much strength that he was virtually the sole sovereign, while Strato was satisfied with having merely grandiloquent titles, such as Epiphanes."⁴³ This explanation is too illogical to need refutation. It must be noted that no joint issue of Strato I and Apollodotus is forthcoming. And I am not competent to discuss Dr. Narain's emendations of Justin's text⁴⁴ in

41. See *supra*, pp. 75-76.

42. Indo-Greeks, pp. 64 sq. and 124 sq.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

44. Trogus Prologue, XLI; and A. K. Narain's emendations, Indo-Greeks, pp. 66 sq.

opposition to the usually accepted interpretations. Unfortunately, I could get hold of only one translation of Justin.⁴⁵ In this there is no mention of Apollodotus anywhere in Book XLI, nor does the index appended to the work contain any reference to Apollodotus anywhere in Justin. Under the circumstances, I have to accept the statements to the effect that "the Indian conquests were ascribed by Trogus Pompeius (Justin, Prologue to Book XLI) to Apollodotus and Menander" of Prof. Rapson⁴⁶, Dr. Tarn⁴⁷ and others who were more competent to use the original Greek texts.

Dr. Narain's other argument, based on the appearance of round C and ω as single letter monograms on two of Apollodotus' coins, has already been discussed and rejected.⁴⁸ We can base our theories on regular occurrences only, not on stray cases. It is not known when these square and round forms were invented. The use of at least the square form of omicron is known as early as the 3rd century B.C.⁴⁹ With the regular appearance of certain forms on coins we can only connect an epoch. When we find their frequent use on the coins of a particular king, we can roughly place him in that epoch. Rarity of the round forms of C and ω on Apollodotus' coins rather shows that they were not in vogue in his time. Hence he did not belong to the epoch when these forms were very popular. In fact, if we were to accept Dr. Narain's argument, we will have to bring Apollodotus down to the beginning of the Christian era, since round forms made their appearance for the first time as a regular feature, on the coins of the Parthian king Gondophares. The latter's successors, Pacores, Abdagases and Orthagnes, continued to use them on their coins.⁵⁰

45. E.g. by Rev. J. S. Watson, London, 1876.

46. C.H.I., p. 543.

47. G.B.I., p. 141.

48. *Supra*, pp. 73-74.

49. See J. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1947, p. 22.

50. See L.M.C., Sec. II, under these rulers.

SONS OF DEMETRIUS I

About Demetrius' sons, Dr. Tarn mainly based his conclusions on the affinity of coin-portraits and the rules of nomenclature among the Greeks. Of his four sons Agathocles on a pedigree coin⁵¹ claims descent from Euthydemus Theos. Another coin of his⁵² bears the head of Demetrius, proving thereby that he was the latter's son. According to the Greek custom, Euthydemus II and Demetrius II shculd be the eldest and the second sons respectively of Demetrius. Then, the faces of Euthydemus II and Pantaleon in some of their coin-portraits resemble so much that they leave little room for doubt in accepting them as brothers. "Agathocles' face"⁵³ is practically that of Euthydemus II,⁵⁴ a few years older."

Of the two extant portraits on Pantaleon's rare coinage one⁵⁵ is strikingly like that of Euthydemus II, though the face on the other⁵⁶ is rather heavier. Pantaleon, the rarity of whose coins points to rather a brief reign, cannot be separated from Agathocles; their coinages are practically identical⁵⁷. Pantaleon, therefore, was another brother. As the coins show that one must have taken the other's place and as Agathocles was king when Eukratides arrived,⁵⁸ it must have been he who succeeded Pantaleon. Hence Dr. Tarn's conjecture that

51. Pl. III. 5; B. M. C., Pl. IV. 3 : C. H. I., Pl. IV. 2.

52. J. Allen, N. C., 1934, p. 229 and Pl. III. 1.

53. Tarn, G. B. I., Pl., no. 9.

54. Ibid., no. 5.

55. Whitehead, N. C., 1923, Pl. XIV. 3; cf Tarn, op. cit., p. 77.

56. Tarn, op. cit., Pl., no. 8.

57. Cf. type "maneless lion: city goddess of Pushkalavati holding lotus (Pushkala) in r. hand (wrongly described as "dancing girl" in I. M. C., p. 10 and L. M. C., p. 16, nos. 35 and 45) and other coins. Compare also infra, Pl. II. 5 of Pantaleon with Pl. III. 1 of Agathocles.

58. See Tarn, op. cit., Ch. V.

Pantaleon was the elder brother.⁵⁹ From her name Agathocleia appears to have been a sister of Agathocles. Four of her types representing her as a joint ruler with her minor son, Strato, have come down to us. These coins provide us with clues to her relationship with Menander.⁶⁰

Of the four brothers Demetrius II alone had distinct features. His portrait⁶¹ does not resemble that of any of his brothers. His coinage belongs to their times. According to the Greek custom, Demetrius' second son should have been named after himself. This fact can be confirmed from his rare coins.⁶² Two or three of his tetradrachms and drachms are known, where the obverse displays a youthful bust with draped shoulders and a novel arrangement of diadem ends, while the reverse has a figure of Athena, standing to front with spear and shield⁶³. The legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. This difference in type and portrait from the usual types of Demetrius I can be explained only by assuming the existence of a second Demetrius.

The bead-and-reel border, found on one of the tetradrachms lying in the British Museum and attributed to Demetrius II, had come into fashion rather late about the time of the beginning of Eukratides' coinage, when a youthful portrait, as found here, of Demetrius I would have been highly inappropriate⁶⁴. Moreover, the face here does not bear the least resemblance to the well-known features of Demetrius I. This unique bilingual tetradrachm

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

60. *Supra*, pp. 86 sq.

61. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Pl., no. 6.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

63. See C. H. I., Pl. III. 5.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

in the British Museum⁶⁵ has the ends of the diadem treated in the same way as those on the Bactrian coins of Demetrius II. This treatment of diadem proves conclusively that the two coins were struck by the same Demetrius, i. e. Demetrius II, who used on this coin his own type, but the legend most probably of his father, e. g. 'Demetrius the Invincible,' which appears for Demetrius I on Agathocles' pedigree series⁶⁶.

ANTIMACHUS II

It has been assumed that Antimachus Nikephoros was the son of Antimachus Theos and Soter⁶⁷. His contemporaneity with Menander is proved by the discovery of his almost new coins with almost new coins of Apollodotus and Menander in the great Bajaur hoard. This great hoard of drachmae was discovered at Bajaur in Gandhāra, and was published in 1929. Of the 969 coins found in it Martin counted 95 of Apollodotus, 721 of Menander, 152 of Antimachus, and one of Zoilus. Another hoard was found much earlier in 1877 in a village in Bundelkhand south of the Yamuna⁶⁸. It contained 33 coins of Apollodotus Soter, 40 of Menander, and 21 of Antimachus II, together with 3 of Eukratides. It could have given us the clue to his date. Of Antimachus' son and grandson who possibly could have inherited his name, only the former can fit in

65. Cf. Tarn, G. B. I., fl., no. 7; Whitehead, N. C., p. 317, no. 2, Pl. XIV. 2:—

Obv. :—Bust of a young king, diad., in flat causia, of the type
Antimachus wears, with legend βασιλε'ως ἀνικήτον
Δημητρίου.

Rev. :—Zeus standing facing, thunderbolt in r. hand and long scepter in l., with Kh. legend, *Maharajasa aparajitasa Demetriyasa*.

66. Tarn, G. B. I., p. 78 and also p. 76, n. 5.

67. Ibid., pp. 78 and 229. But Rapson considers it more probable that the coins assigned to these are merely the Bactrian and Indian issues of the same monarch, cf. C. H. I., p. 547.

68. V. A. Smith, Ind. Ant., XXXIII, 1904, p. 217.

with this date and hence the conclusion that Antimachus II Nikephoros was a son of Antimachus I Soter⁶⁹.

The very fact of Menander's smooth accession to the throne proves that he came of a royal family. This royal family was no other than that of Euthydemus is indicated by the frequent appearance of Pallas on Menander's coins. He seems to have inherited this device from Apollodotus whose son he most probably was.

The Milindapañho⁷⁰ tells us that Menander was born at the village of Kalasi, in the *dvīpa* of Alasandā. For the identification of the Alasandā *dvīpa* scholars have put forth various suggestions. It has been identified by Prof. Rapson⁷¹ with the *dvīpa* or *doab* between the Panjshir and Kabul rivers in which the ruins of Alexander's city have been recognised near Charikar, a view with which Dr. D. C. Sircar⁷² concurs. Prof. Rapson⁷³ says, "Kalasi cannot be identified; but the *dvīpa* of Alasandā is no doubt the district of the Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus, Alasandā of the Yonas, as it is called in the Mahāvāṃśa (XXIX 39)." Then Prof. Rapson goes on to prove that the word *dvīpa* is used in the Milindapañho in the sense in which the Persian word *doab* is used, i. e. the land lying between two rivers, as for instance, the Rachna doab between the Ravi and the Chenab is often called Śākala *dvīpa*. "There is no reason therefore," asserts Prof. Rapson, "why the term Alasandā *dvīpa* should not be applied to the country between the Panjshir and Kabul rivers, in which the ruins of Alexander's city have been recognised near Charikar."

69. Tarn, G. B. I., pp. 78 and 229.

70. Ed. by R. D. Vadekar, III. 33-34. Milinda states in reply to Nāgasena :—

"अतिथ भन्ते अलसन्दो नाम दीपो । तत्या' हं जातो' ति ।"

and

"अतिथ भन्ते कलसि गामो नाम । तत्या' हं जातो' ति ।"

71. C. H. I., p. 550.

71. Age of Imperial Unity, p. 113.

73. C. H. I., p. 550.

"Some branch of the family of Euthydemus would naturally be settled in the district" (namely of Alexanderia-under-the-Caucasus) "which was strategically important as constituting the connecting link between Bactria and India ; and we may reasonably conclude that Menander, like Apollodotus, belonged to this branch."⁷⁴ Dr. Rhys Davids⁷⁵ conjectures that Alasandā *dvipa* was a name given to an island, presumably in the Indus. All the scholars who have devoted attention to the identification of Alasandā *dvipa*, whatever their difference of opinion regarding its exact location, are agreed that this Alasandā or Alexandria was south of the Paropamisus or Hindu Koh.

If we accept Dr. Tarn's⁷⁶ chronology of Demetrius' invasion, the latter crossed the Hindu Koh in 183 or 182 B. C. Full occupation of the Kabul valley, therefore, could not have taken place earlier than 181 or 180 B. C. ; and a branch of the family of Euthydemus could not have settled at Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus earlier than this date. The earliest date for the birth of Menander, who was born in this family, is thus brought as low as 180 B. C. by Dr. Tarn's own calculations. But there is no need to believe that Demetrius who started his invasion about 192 B.C. took so many years in occupying Kāpiśa and the Kabul valley. He may, most probably, have finished this job in less than a year. Kāpiśi, at least, must have been occupied as early as 191 B.C. Apollodotus must have been charged immediately with the administration of this region as sub-king. His jurisdiction was extended to the Kabul valley as soon as it was annexed. We have assigned to his rule in Kāpiśa and the Kabul valley a period of less than two years⁷⁷, after which he was put in charge of the expeditionary force that penetrated to Madhyamikā via Bharoch. This

74. Ibid., pp. 543 and 550.

75. Questions of King Milinda, Introduction, p. xxiii.

76. G. B. I., p. 133.

77. M. V. D. Mohan, N. W. Ind., V. 55 and 57.

dating agrees with the evidence of his coins. His Kāpiśī coins bearing the overstrike of Eukratides indicate that he administered Kāpiśī for some time prior to the break-through of Eukratides. This event occurred about 170 B. C.⁷⁸ It must have been during his short rule in this country that Menander was born. Thus Menander's birth can be dated some time between 191 and 189 B. C. This date agrees with the chronology of Menander's early coins. The bust of king on these coins is that of a boy in his teens.⁷⁹ He could have been appointed as sub-king about 174 B. C., when his father, Apollodotus, succeeded to Demetrius' kingdom. Born about 190 B. C. he was just sixteen when he became his father's sub-king. His early coins prove that he received the diadem during the life-time of his father. Otherwise we will have to assume for his birth a still later date, which will not agree with the rest of his chronology. His latest portraits are those of a man of about fifty. Since his reign cannot be fitted after 140 B. C., he can get his span of fifty years only if we assume that he was born not later than 190 B. C.

The foregoing discussion disproves Dr. Tarn's hypothesis, that Menander was a commoner and had risen to be Demetrius' general by dint of his ability. Even if we accept 166 B. C. to be the date of Demetrius' death, as Dr. Tarn and others do, Menander, born about 190 B. C., was too young to participate in the former's campaigns. Sir John Marshall has rightly contradicted Dr. Tarn's statement, viz. "Menander was one of Demetrius' generals and carved his own way to fortune before marrying into the royal house." Had it been so, observes Sir Marshall, "he must surely have been a man nearing middle age at least when he became king and minted coins of his own." On the contrary, however, "his earliest issues show him as a very young man, with an almost girlish countenance so much so that were it not for the ribons at

78. *Ibid.*, V. 51 and 55.

79. Pl. III. 6; Taxila, Pl. 236, no. 55.

the back of his neck and some other small details, his bust at this period might be mistaken for that of the virgin goddess (Athena or Pallas) who is so often portrayed on his coins."⁸⁰ No doubt, he was of blood royal, and was related to Demetrius. Twice his name is mentioned after that of Apollodotus in classical literature.⁸¹ Strabo⁸² gives the impression that the Bactrian Greek chiefs, Demetrius and Menander, belonged to the same family. The coinage of Menander, as that of Apollodotus, covers the whole of the area left in the possession of Demetrius at the time of his death. Everything indicates a natural and smooth succession from Demetrius to Apollodotus and from the latter to Menander. With the death of Demetrius and his sons his direct line, but for a daughter, became extinct and the legal title to the Euthydemid throne came to Apollodotus, the seniormost living representative of that family. When the latter was killed his son Menander was raised to the throne in the natural course and Agathocleia, the youngest daughter of Demetrius was married to him. Apollodotus seems to have been killed in action against Vasumitra about 160 B. C.⁸³ By this date Menander must have gained considerable administrative experience. He must have been about thirty at this time. He must have issued his early coins in Sindh and in parts of western Gandhāra, i.e. in the country lying west of the Indus. These areas Pushyamitra and Eukratides had not, it seems, penetrated. Therefore, these must have been inherited by Menander from his father. The death of Agnimitra about 140 B. C. gave him an opportunity to reestablish his family in the western Panjab. Menander and his son Strato inherited the title 'Soter' from Apollodotus, though in addition, both of them

80. Marshall, Taxila, vol. I, p. 30, For Menander's early types see B. M. C., Pl. XI. nos. 8 and 9.

81. Periplus, 47; Justin, XLI.

82. IX. xi. 1.

83. M. V. D. Mohan, N. W. Ind., V. 65 and VI. 29-30.

adopted new ones also. And they copied his "bust of king: Pallas" type. In fact, this is Menander's most common type. He did not copy the "Apollo : tripod" type of Apollodotus, probably because of the peculiarly personal significance which Apollodotus' name had given to that type. But Menander's son, Strato I, did adopt it. Dr. Tarn's statement that the latter inherited this type from his mother's side⁸⁴ seems far-fetched. Provenance of coins also proves that Kāpiśa, Pushkalāvati, Kabul, Arachosia and Drangiana were at one time or the other the dominions of Apollodotus. His "Apollo : tripod" type of copper coins⁸⁵ were restruck by Eukratides with his own type in the kingdom of Kāpiśa (Kafiristan) situated immediately to the south of the Hindu Koh.⁸⁶ His silver coin types "elephant : Indian bull"⁸⁷ and "bull : tripod"⁸⁸ also locate Apollodotus for some time in Kāpiśa-Gandhāra region.

Dr. Tarn's hypothesis has left another serious lacuna of which he himself seems to be conscious. He states,⁸⁹ "It was one thing for Demetrius to confer the royal title and a great measure of power upon Apollodotus, who was his brother or kinsman, and quite another to confer that title upon a general, a thing as yet without any precedent anywhere." Further he ventures to suggest that Demetrius, from sheer necessity made Menander king when he himself returned to fight Eukratides, though most probably Menander took the title himself when Demetrius was killed, in the usual form of a vote by his army. Ultimately Dr. Tarn admits, "we simply do not know when the most famous of the Yavanas received, or assumed, the diadem." In other words, his

84. G. B. I., p. 78.

85. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 4.

86. Pl. V. 6.

87. Pl. I. 7; L. M. C., Sec. I. types (α) and (β) of Apollodotus
Pl. IV.

88. Ibid., type (ζ).

89. G. B. I., p. 167.

theory fails to provide an explanation for this fateful event. Why did the direct descendants of Euthydemus not raise a finger at the usurpation of their paternal throne; and why did they meekly submit to Menander's leadership? His theory fails to provide an answer. Hence our conclusion that Menander was the seniormost survivor amongst the Euthydemids, and assumed sovereignty among them of his right. That is why he ascended the throne at a young age.⁹⁰ Another cause of the smooth change over was that it was his father, Apollodotus, who succeeded Demetrius at the latter's death about 174 B. C., and passed on the crown in due course to Menander. Naturally, nobody would have disputed the right of Menander to succeed his father. Coins of Apollodotus and Menander are found from identical sites. Both were circulating in Barygaza simultaneously in the time of the author of the *Periplus*.⁹¹ Apollodotus seems to have survived Demetrius by about fifteen years. There is every reason to believe that he associated his son in government as sub-king during his life-time, although Menander was yet in his teens. The earliest coins of the latter belong to this period. Menander's youthful portrait has come down to us through a wonderfully well-preserved coin of his.⁹² Menander had attained the age of thirty about 160 B. C. when he was called upon to assume full powers at the death in battle of Apollodotus.

APOLOPHANES, ZOILUS AND DIONYSIUS

Dionysius and Zoilus copied some of the types of Apollodotus, e. g. "bust of king : Pallas", "Apollo : tripod," and shared the monogram 22.⁹³ indicating clearly their

90. M. V. D. Mohan, N. W. Ind., IV. 34-35.

91. 47.

92. Pl. III. 6. See also B. M. C., Pl. XI, nos. 8 and 9 for Menander's early types.

93. See their respective types in I. M. C. and L. M. C.

mutual relationship. Though his solitary type in the Lahore Museum Catalogue⁹⁴ does not bear any monogram, Apollphanes, whose name suggests descent from Apollodotus, also adopted the "bust of king : Pallas" type of the latter.⁹⁵ All the three used the title "Soter" in common with Apollodotus, while Zoilus used Menander's well-known title *Dhramika* also.⁹⁶ Prof. Rapson⁹⁷ correctly suspected them to be the descendants of Apollodotus. They were probably his sons, and may have ruled as his sub-kings for some time. It seems that they died in the long life-time of Strato I, necessitating the association of his grandson, Strato II in government.

AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO I

It is generally believed that Agathocleia, presumably the youngest child of Demetrius, was Menander's queen. This may well have been the case, though the evidence at our disposal at the moment is not conclusive. She acted as the regent for her young son, Strato I, and jointly issued coins with him. They ruled in the western Panjab, with probably Śākala as their capital, and must have derived their authority from Menander, the previous ruler. Some clues to their relationship with Menander are afforded by their coins also. They are :

The 'bust of Athena helmeted', which appears on the coins of Menander,⁹⁸ is perhaps the portrait of Agathocleia. It resembles her own bust on the coins she struck in association with Strato.⁹⁹ Possibly Menander considered her appearance god-like. Her husband's idea may have been at the back of her assumption of the title *ΕΟΤΠΟΤΟΣ* (god-like) on the coins

94. Sec. I, no. 550.

95. See C. H. I., p. 553.

96. I. M. C., Sec. I, Zoilus, no. 3, L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 522 etc.

97. C. H. I., p. 553.

98. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 15.

99. Pl. IV. 2; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 25.

she issued as the regent. "The figure of a warrior king on the reverse of certain coins struck by Agathocleia during Strato's minority and bearing her own portrait, may be supposed to represent the late king.¹⁰⁰ A similar figure occurs as the obverse type on the coins of Menander¹⁰¹, where it is most naturally explained as that of Menander himself."¹⁰²

For the next two generations clear evidence is supplied by the coins issued by Agathocleia in association with her son, and by Strato ruling at first alone and afterwards in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator. "On the earliest of these coins Agathocleia appears as queen regent holding the place of honour with her portrait and Greek inscription on the obverse while the Kharoshthi legend of the young prince occupies a subordinate position on the reverse.¹⁰³ Afterwards, the combined portraits of mother and son declare their association in the Government,¹⁰⁴ and later still, a series of portraits shows Strato first reigning alone, as a youth¹⁰⁵ or as a bearded man¹⁰⁶ and then in advanced old age, with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks both, as the Kharoshthi legend indicates, reigning alone and in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator."¹⁰⁷ Still later portraits show him ruling alone even after the death of Strato II.¹⁰⁸ The coin-portraits of Strato I thus provide a vivid testimony to a long life and a long reign. If we assign him seventy years of life, he must have died about 82 B. C., since at the time of Menander's death, which occurred about 138 B. C., he may have been fifteen years old. We must assign at least three years to the joint rule of Agathocleia and Strato I before the

100. Corolla Numismatica, Pl. XII. 4, Cf. C. H. I., p. 552.

101. L. M. C., Pl. VI. 515.

102. C. H. I., p. 552 n.

103. Pl. IV. 2; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 25.

104. Pl. IV. 3; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 19.

105. Pl. IV. 4; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 20.

106. Pl. IV. 5; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 21.

107. C. H. I., p. 553, and Pl. VII. 23; Also infra Pl. IV. 6.

108. Pl. IV. 7.

latter reached majority at eighteen and began to rule alone, i. e. a reasonable interval for the former to issue two series of coins, the first bearing her own portrait alone with Strato's name in . . Kharoshthī, the second showing the jugate busts of herself and Strato. This interval should also be long enough to allow for the invasion¹⁰⁹ of Heliocles, who overstruck their joint issues.

Strato inherited extensive dominions from Menander. But soon after accession, possibly even during the regency of Agathocleia, these began to shrink. A couple of years after the termination of Agthocleia's regency Heliocles recovered Kāpiśī and began to overstrike with his bilingual Kāpiśī type¹¹⁰ the joint issues of the mother and son¹¹¹ as well as those of Strato reigning alone.¹¹² Shortly afterwards he seems to have annexed even Gandhāra. His types, "bust of king : elephant"¹¹³ and "bust of king : humped bull"¹¹⁴ were, no doubt, produced in Kāpiśī and Pushkalāvati respectively after the recovery of these towns. He may have advanced as far as the Indus. But we are not sure if it was Heliocles who crossed it and occupied Taxila. Antialkidas, believed to be his son, was ruling in this town about the year 100 B. C. Possibly it was the achievement of Antialkidas himself. Strato had anyhow lost Taxila before 100 B. C. when, it is known, ambassadorial relations existed between the Śungas and the Eukratidean family, the traditional enemies of the Euthydemid house.¹¹⁵ One should naturally expect that Strato lost some territory on his eastern borders as well. But

109. Tarn. G. B. I., p. 226.

110. C. H. I., Pl. VII. 35. His monolingual Kāpiśī types, e. g. L. M. C., Sec. I., nos. 133-35, however, are to be assigned to the earlier spell of his rule in Kāpiśā.

111. Pl. IV. 2; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 25.

112. Ibid., Pl. VI. 16.

113. C. H. I., Pl. VIII. 35 and L. M. C., Sec. I., no. 148.

114. Ibid., no. 149, Pl. III.

115. Cf. Besnagar inscription, wherein Ambassador, Heliodorus, of the Eukratidean king Antialkidas claims to hail from Taxila. For text see Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91.

nothing definite is known. Sindh appears to have been lost much earlier to the Śakas, who about 80 B.C. finally overwhelmed Strato in his helpless old age, thereby practically wiping out the Euthydemid house. Soon they obliterated the last trace of Yavana rule in Indo-Bactria.

POLYXENOS, AMYNTAS AND NIKIAS

Polyxenos, Amyntas and Nikias are connected by their types and monograms with Strato. They may well have been his sub-kings during the earlier part of his reign, though it is not certain how effective was Strato's control over them. It is generally presumed that the sub-kings were the blood relations of the Indo-Greek kings.

POLYXENOS

Both the monograms found on Polyxenos' coins, e.g. no. 17 and no. 88 also appear on those of Strato I.¹¹⁶ The last monogram is also found on the coins of Philoxenos. From his name the latter appears to have been Polyxenos' father. Polyxenos possibly succeeded Philoxenos to the principality of Pushkalavati. Both these princes are associated through their types with Menander and his family.¹¹⁷ Polyxenos, therefore, may have been a sub-king of Strato I during the earlier years of his reign.

AMYNTAS

Pallas on at least three of Amyntas' types indicates his connection with Menander's family. And monogram 88 connects him with Strato I¹¹⁸ whose sub-king he may have been. The location of his principality is given out by

116. Cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 53, Polyxenos' types and pp. 53-54, Stratos' types, nos. 358, 368 for the first monogram and no. 356 for the second.

117. E.g. Philoxenos' "bust of king : horseman" type is found on Menander's unrepresented type (i) in L. M. C., Sec. I, and Polyxenos' "bust of king: Pallas" type is very common on Menander's and Strato's coinage.

118. Cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 637 of Amyntas and nos. 356, 364 of Strato I.

his Zeus Nikephoros types.¹¹⁹ He, therefore, must have ruled at Kāpiśī, where a Euthydemid can be fixed only before Strato I lost this region early in his reign, i.e. about 135 B.C.

Dr. Tarn, however, places Amyntas much later, about 60 B.C., on the ground that he used some monograms as also a peculiar type, e.g. "male bust, radiate, in Phrygian cap" in common with Hermaeus, whose late date he "cannot doubt."¹²⁰ But I have not been able to trace a single monogram common between Amyntas and Hermaeus. Possibly, Dr. Tarn has ignored small differences between the monogram nos. 59 and 69 of Amyntas and the monogram nos. 58, 60 and 62 of Hermaeus. But such handling of the problem is rather arbitrary. Similarity of type, too, need not indicate proximity in time. It may, at the most, suggest that Hermaeus claimed descent from Amyntas. And Hermaeus himself has to be dated about 80 B.C., as we shall see presently.

In the matter of chronology Dr. A. K. Narain¹²¹ agrees to some extent with Dr. Tarn. But he connects Amyntas with the Eukratides' family, for which there is no evidence.

NIKIAS

"Bust of king : Pallas" type on his copper¹²² connects Nikias with the family of Menander. His "bust of king : horseman" type¹²³ is common with Menander¹²⁴ and Philoxenos.¹²⁵ With some of Menander's sub-kings, e.g. Philoxenos and Theophilus, he shares the monogram 56.¹²⁶

119. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

120. G. B. I., pp. 331 sq.

121. Indo-Greeks p. 153.

122. J. N. S. I., XVI. I, p. 322; N.C., 1940, Pl. VIII. 4.

123. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 600.

124. Ibid., unrepresented type (i); White King Sale Cat., Pl. X. 964.

125. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos 575-83.

126. Ibid., compare no. 593, Pl. VII of Nikias. no. 575, Pl. VII of Philoxenos and no. 634, Pl. VIII of Theophilus.

He, therefore, cannot be placed much later than these two sub-kings, who probably belong to the closing years of Menander's reign. Nikias' use of late square forms of the Greek letters □, ▨ and ω¹²⁷ brings him down to about the times of Hermaeus and Azes. He used the late round C and ω also. His date, therefore, was not much later than that of Menander and not much earlier than that of Azes. About 100 B.C. seems to be a fair estimate. He was, most probably, a sub-king of Strato I. There is nothing in his coins to indicate the location of his sub-kingdom. His name suggests some sort of connection with Nikaea. Possibly he was born there.

On the basis of his square and round letters, Dr. Tarn has tried to place Nikias about 50 B.C.¹²⁸ But it seems to have escaped his notice that his monograms connect him chronologically with Menander's sub-kings. To fix him almost a century after them, is not plausible. Nor is there any possibility of Hippostratus being his father, as Dr. Tarn believes.¹²⁹ This king belongs to a later time, since his monograms connect him with Hermaeus and Azes. Philoxenos, Nikias and Hippostratus is the order in which these three kings are described by both Gardner¹³⁰ and Whitehead.¹³¹ Dr. A. K. Narain accepts this as their chronological order¹³² which is correct as far as these three princes are concerned.

HERMAEUS AND CALLIOPE

Hermaeus has been pushed very late by scholars. They have been misled by his square letter-forms, defective legends and the appearance of his name on the coins

127. Ibid., no. 602, Pl. VII.

128. G.B.I., pp. 325 sq. and 327 sq.

129. Ibid.

130. B.M.C., pp. 55-60

131. L.M.C., Sec. I, pp. 70-77.

132. Indo-Greeks, pp. 112-13.

of the Kushāna ruler, Kadphises.¹³³ The evidence of letter-forms and defective legends is vague. At best, it can be used for determining an epoch rather than the exact chronology of a ruler. And it has now been generally accepted that the Kushāna king, Kujula Kadphises, never ruled jointly with Hermaeus.¹³⁴ Joint types in their names were, in fact, issued long after the death of Hermaeus by Kujula Kadphises by way of a political move.

Hermaeus' monograms give us a fair idea of his date. Through these he is associated with Menander, Strato and Agathocleia, Strato alone and Diomedes. His monogram, No. 115¹³⁵, is very common on the coins of Menander.¹³⁶ His monogram, No. 114¹³⁷, is found on a joint issue of Strato and Agathocleia¹³⁸ as well as on a type of Strato alone.¹³⁹ His monogram, No. 71¹⁴⁰, was used on coins by Diomedes¹⁴¹, who on similar evidence appears to have been a sub-king of Heliokles. These monograms, however, are rare on Hermaeus' coins. They occur on his solitary Kapisī type only. We may, therefore, assume that the persons represented by them were very old men and died shortly after his accession. We may roughly fix his reign between 80 and 70 B.C.¹⁴² This will give a chance to Menander's, rather Heliokles', mint-men to survive till the early years of Hermaeus' reign.

133. Pl. JV. 10; L.M.C., Sec. III, nos. 1-11, Pl. XVII.

134. A. D. H. Bivar, Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz, J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, pp. 42-43.

135. L.M.C., Sec. I, no. 657.

136. Ibid., nos. 402-406, 454-58, 472-74.

137. Ibid., no. 655.

138. Pl. IV. 2; L.M.C., Sec. I no. 370.

139. Ibid., no. 359.

140. Ibid., no. 654, also on his joint issues with Kalliope, no. 693.

141. Ibid., nos. 214-17.

142. A. D. H. Bivar also rejects Dr. Tarn's dating and places Hermaeus about 90 B.C. Cf. Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz, J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, pp. 42-43.

His types "Zeus enthroned" and "Nike"¹⁴³ connect Hermaeus with Kāpiśi-Nikaea region. He succeeded Antialkidas to the rule of these districts. There is nothing in his coins to connect him with the family of the latter, or for that matter with that of Strato. But his successor, Hippostratus portrayed "Apollo : tripod" on his coins,¹⁴⁴ and hence seems to belong to the family of Apollodotus. Appearance of Heracles on the coins issued in his name by Kujula Kadphises¹⁴⁵ also points to his Euthydemid affiliations. Thus, it would appear that between Antialkidas and Hermaeus there was some sort of political upheaval that led to the extinction of the family of Antialkidas. There is an ephemeral ruler, Peukolaos, who had a short rule as a sub-king of Antialkidas in Kāpiśi-Pushkalāvatī region. He is known to have issued only two types: one each of Kāpiśi¹⁴⁶ and Pushkalāvatī.¹⁴⁷ He did not use square letter forms on his coins, and hence must be placed before rather than after Hermaeus. His sudden disappearance may have had some connection with the appearance of Hermaeus. It appears that immediately after the death of Antialkidas, Śakas under Maues occupied Taxila and advanced north to Pushkalāvatī and Kāpiśi. They placed Hermaeus, a Euthydemid prince, on the throne of Peukolaos with reduced territories. It was done possibly as a sop to the troublesome Greek element in these parts or more probably as a political check on the expansionist ambitions of Azes, who was already in possession of Seistan and Arachosia.

Hermaeus tried to make his rule acceptable to the

143. Pl. IV. 9 (Zeus type); L. M. C., Sec. I, Zeus types (α), (β) and (γ), and Nike type (ϵ).

144. Ibid., nos. 622-28.

145. Pl. IV. 10; L. M. C., Sec. III, nos. 1-11, Pl. XVII. 1 and 8.

146. Pl. IV. 9; J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, Pl. VIII. 5; C. H. I., Pl. VII. 37.

147. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 642, Pl. VIII.

faction of Peukolaos by marrying Kalliope, a relative of the last king, and ruling for some time jointly with her. Since there is only one joint type of Hermaeus and Kalliope we can presume that this arrangement lasted for only a short while.

HIPPOSTRATUS

Hippostratus is connected by his types with the family of Apollodotus and Menander.¹⁴⁸ He seems to have succeeded Hermaeus in the districts of Kāpiśī and Nikaea. His monogram, No. 63¹⁴⁹, is found on a coin of Hermaeus¹⁵⁰ and his monogram, No. 34, is very common on the coins of Azes.¹⁵¹ Thus Hippostratus is to be fitted between Hermaeus and Azes. His square lettering, too, would place him about this time. His reign could not have been a long one. The portraits on his coins show no marked difference. And he is known to have issued only four silver and four copper types.¹⁵² We may assign him 8 to 10 years' rule.

Dr. Tarn has located Hippostratus' kingdom between the Jhelum and the Chenab, on the ground that the Fortune of a city occurring on his coins, both silver and square bronze, can only be the divinity of Bucephala.¹⁵³ We have already proved that the city goddess on the Indo-Greek coins is the goddess of Pushkalāvati¹⁵⁴ and the town of Bucephala existed only in the nostalgic imagination of the Greek writers. Nowhere east of the Indus, except Hazara, have the coins of Hippostratus been found. In

148. He used the "Apollo : tripod" type of Apollodotus, cf. ibid., nos. 622-29, and "bust of king : horseman" type of Menander, cf. ibid., nos. 610-14.

149. Ibid., no. 614.

150. Ibid., no. 660.

151. Ibid., Sec. II, nos. 127, 165, 170, 283-88, 290-97.

152. See L. M. C., Sec. I, pp. 82-85.

153. G.B.L., p. 327.

154. Supra, pp. 22 sq.

General Houghton's list¹⁵⁵ all find-spots of his coins, except of course Hazara, are west of the Indus. Whitehead¹⁵⁶ has also reported, on the testimony of W. S. Talbot, that his silver tetradrachms are not found in Jhelum district, and therefore, he objects to the theory of Dr. Tarn that the "city" coins of Hippostratus were struck at Bucephala.

The kingdom of Hippostratus has to be located in Kāpiśī and Nikaea, the districts he inherited from Hermaeus. In addition, he seems to have occupied Pushkalāvati also, to which town his "city goddess" types¹⁵⁷ belong. On the basis of the distribution of his coins Whitehead also placed him in Peshawar and Hazara districts.¹⁵⁸

The naval victory attributed to Hippostratus by Dr. Tarn¹⁵⁹ on the basis of his type "Triton holding a dolphin"¹⁶⁰ has already been discussed in Chapter III, and rejected for the simple reason that naval activity is not possible in the hill torrents of northern Afghanistan where this prince ruled.¹⁶¹

It appears, Hippostratus came into clash with his father's benefactor, Maues, whose vast empire lay sprawling to the south. He drove the latter's satrap out of Pushkalāvati. In this he possibly had the support of Azes, who was already in possession of Arachosia and probably parts of Bactria. The title Megas on the coins of Hippostratus¹⁶² was probably adopted after the recovery of Pushkalāvati. But he seems to have enjoyed these wider dominions only for a short while, say a couple of years. He issued only one silver and one copper type of

155. N. C., 1923, p. 58.

156. N. C., 1940, pp. 110-11.

157. L. M. C., Sec. I, types (α), (γ) and (θ).

158. N. C., 1923, p. 338; 1940, p. 110.

159. G. B. I., p. 328.

160. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 631.

161. Supra, p. 42.

162. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 610-14.

Pushkalāvati, besides his horseman type with the title Megas.¹⁶³

Maues soon retaliated. Hippostratus was, most probably, killed. With him disappeared the last trace of Indo-Greek rule. This event may be roughly dated about 60 B. C. Henceforward the owner of the monogram 34 began to mint coins for Azes.

TELEPHOS

Telephos was, probably, a sub-king of Hippostratus at Kāpiśī¹⁶⁴ appointed after the latter moved to Pushkalāvati. Scarcity of his types indicates a short rule. His title "Kalyāṇakarma" on the Kharoshthī side of his coins¹⁶⁵ indicates Buddhist leanings.

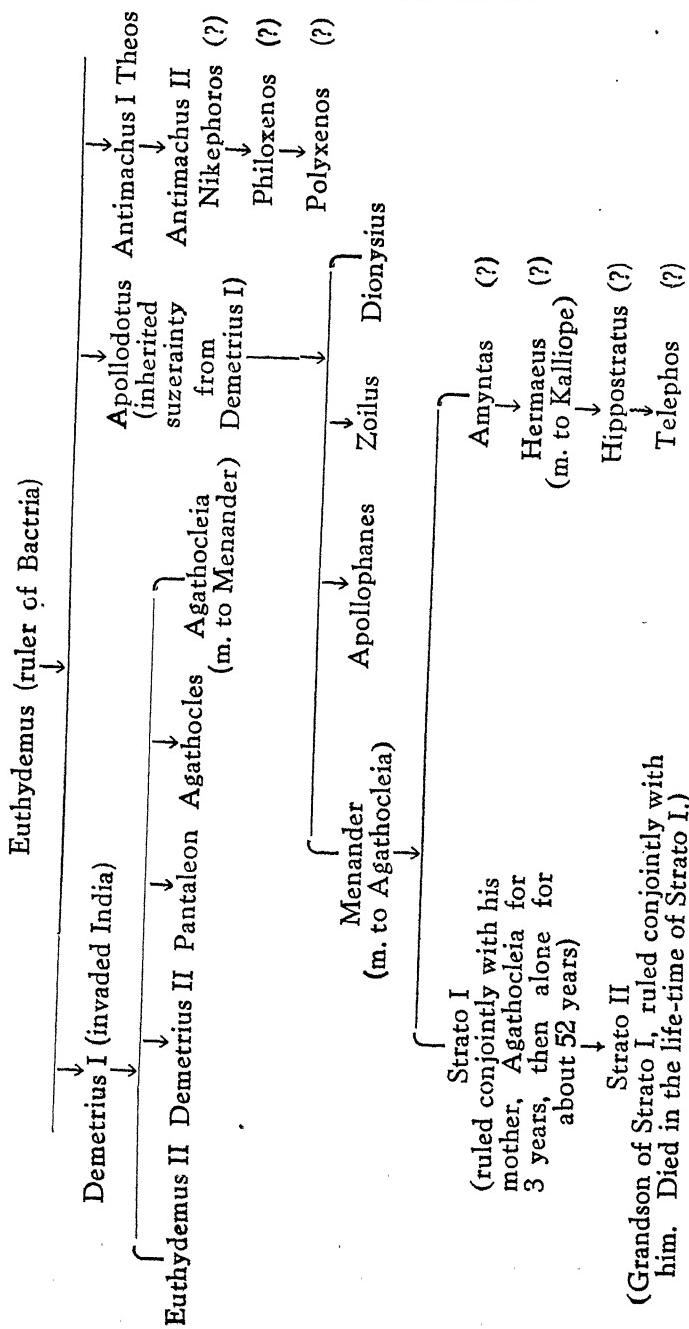
Thus the Euthydemid family tree may be reconstructed something like the following:—

163. Ibid., "city" types (α) and (θ) of Pushkalāvati and type (β) with Megas title.

164. See his Kāpiśī type in L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 640.

165. Ibid.

HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMUS



CHAPTER IX

FAMILY AFFILIATIONS CONTINUED

House of Eukratides

HELIOKLES

Eukratides, who rose in revolt and drove the Demetrian family out of Bactria, was succeeded by his parricide son, Heliokles. This is indicated by provenance of coins and by the unilingual legends on an early type of Heliokles.¹ It is admitted that the coins issued in Bactria bore only Greek legends. Barring Plato and Eukratides II who were subordinate rulers, he was the last Greek king to rule north of the Hindu Koh, and is believed to have been driven south by the Šakas who imitated his coin types. Wherever the Šaka nomads went they copied the coin-types of the supplanted rulers. Thus he was Eukratides' successor in Bactria. Commemorative medallions of Eukratides² indicate that his father's name was Heliokles. Among the Greeks the grandfather and the eldest grandson generally bore the same name. Hence our belief that Heliokles, the successor of Eukratides in Bactria was the eldest grandson of Heliokles and Laodike of Eukratides' commemorative medallions, i.e. he was Eukratides' eldest son, probably the one who is stated to have assassinated him, driven his chariot over his dead body and ordered the corpse to be cast away unburied.³

PLATO AND EUKRATIDES II

Plato and Eukratides II, whose Bactrian, i.e. unilin-

1. Pl. VI. I ; C. H. I., pl. IV. 8 ; L.M.C., Sec. I, type (α), Pl. III.

2. Pl. V. I ; C. H. I., Pl. IV. 3 ; J. N. S. I., XVI, p. 305 ; Hirsh Sale Catalogue, 1912, Pl. XIV. 524 ; Naville 5, Pl. LXXXI, no. 2896.

3. Justin, XLI. 6.

gual, coins have come down to us, appear to have been Heliokles' contemporaries. The small areas with which their coin-types connect them, as also the scarcity of their types, indicate that they were only subordinate rulers. Their suzerain at this period could only be Heliokles.

PLATO

Plato's type "Helios in quadriga"⁴ cannot be located with certainty. But the absence of Kharoshthī legend on his coins clearly points to a territory north of the Hindu Koh.

Dr. A. K. Narain believes that Plato was the parricide son of Eukratides and that the quadriga on his coins commemorates the act of driving his chariot over the corpse of his father. But such an act, whatever its justification at the moment, hardly deserves commemoration. Had he been the assassin he would certainly have ruled for some time over the entire kingdom of Eukratides. But none of his types can be connected with any town south of the Hindu Koh. And we have no evidence to show that he was at all a son of Eukratides.

Dr. Narain⁵ finds in their coin-portraits some resemblance between the heads of Plato and Eukratides I and between the features of Plato and Heliokles I. On this basis he has built up the former's relationship with the other two. I feel uncertain about this resemblance. But at this date a Graeco-Bactrian prince could not but belong to the house of Eukratides. He may have been a sub-king under Heliokles. The monogram MH on some of his coins cannot be accepted as date.

EUKRATIDES II

First suggested by Bayer⁶ the existence of a second

4. J. N. S. I., XVI, 1954, p. 306, Pl. II. 2-3; Indo-Greeks, Pl. II. 3.

5. Indo-Greeks, pp. 71-72.

6. Reference from *ibid.*, p. 71.

Eukratides, a younger brother or son of Heliokles, is now generally admitted by scholars⁷. Other things apart, the resemblance of the youthful features and his type on a tetradrachm with those of Heliokles is so striking⁸ that it is impossible not to agree with the conclusions of Prof. Macdonald.⁹ And the title Soter of the youthful Eukratides on a number of newly discovered coins¹⁰ leaves little room for doubt about his existence. If Eukratides I had adopted this title in his youth, he would certainly have used it in his later coins, especially on those where Dioscuroi, the saviour gods, figure. Moreover, the engineering of the conspiracy that led to the accession of Eukratides I could hardly have been conceived and successfully executed by a man so young as portrayed on this set of coins.

Eukratides II may have preceded Plato as the sub-king of Bactria. He is in no way connected with India. His youthful portraits indicate that he died young, most probably, during the lifetime of Heliokles.

DIOMEDES

The appearance of Dioscuroi on all his coin-types unmistakably connects Diomedes with the house of Eukratides. The "humped bull" type on his copper¹¹ leads us to the conclusion that he ruled over Pushkalāvati. Two monograms, e. g. Σ and no. 56, are found on his coins.¹² Sigma (Σ) as a monogram is also found on the coins of Strato I,¹³ Heliokles¹⁴ and Antialkidas,¹⁵ and monogram 56

7. Prof. Macdonald, C. H. I., p. 460; Dr. Tarn, G. B. I., pp. 271-72; Dr. A. K. Narain, Indo-Greeks, p. 71.

8. Compare Pl. VI. 1 of Heliokles with Pl. VI. 4 of Eukratides II.

9. C. H. I., p. 460.

10. 37 coins with this title have been discovered in the Qunduz hoard. Cf. Narain, Indo-Greeks, p. 71, n. 6.

11. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 218-23, Pl. IV.

12. Ibid., no. 218.

13. Ibid., no. 355.

14. Ibid., nos. 146 and 148.

15. Ibid., no. 197.

on those of Philoxenos¹⁶ and Theophilos.¹⁷ The last two served as sub-kings under Menander¹⁸. Thus the owners of these monograms, whether individuals or firms, first served Menander's sub-kings and Strato I, and later began to work for Heliokles and Diomedes. This synchronisation gives us almost the exact date of Diomedes' reign. He was appointed sub-king of Pushkalāvati by Heliokles soon after the occupation of the kingdom. Strato lost it early in his reign. We have settled the date of this event about 140 B. C. His coins are scarce. His reign must have been brief. He may have ended before the accession of Antialkidas, i.e. before 135 B C.

ANTIALKIDAS

Of the two rulers, Antialkidas and Archebius, who from their coins are known to have succeeded to the dominions of Heliokles, Antialkidas appears to be the senior.¹⁹ The exact relation of these two with Heliokles is unknown. But it is certain that they belonged to the house of Eukratides, since Dioscuroi symbols appear on the coins of both.²⁰ Though neither is connected through a common monogram with Heliokles, Antialkidas shares a number of them with Menander, indicating his proximity in time to the latter. Archebius, on the other hand, used the monogram 17²¹ in common with Strato I.²² This monogram had been in use since the days of Euthydemus I and has very little value as a chronological datum. Still I am

16. Ibid., no. 579.

17. Ibid., no. 634.

18. M. V. D. Mohan, North-West India, VIII. 46-47.

19. C. H. I., p. 559; Tarn, G. B. I., p. 315.

20. L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 193-211 of Antialkidas, and no. 230 of Archebius.

21. Ibid., no. 227.

22. Ibid., nos. 358, 363.

inclined to regard the owner of the monograms on the coins of Archebius and Strato as one and the same person. He may have inherited his name and monogram from an ancestor who had worked for Euthydemus I. Archebius, therefore, was nearer Strato in time. Thus, the evidence of monograms places Antialkidas earlier and Archebius later. We, therefore, agree with Dr. Tarn²³ that Heliokles' immediate successor was Antialkidas. Heliokles died about 135 B. C.

Antiaklidias is also remembered through the Garuda pillar inscription at Besnagar, near Gwalior. This inscription records the "setting up of a Garuda pillar (dhvaja, lit. flag post) in honour of the God of gods, Vāsudeva, by the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus, son of Dion, and a *Bhagavata* by faith, who hailed from Takshaśilā, and had come from the great king Antialkidas to the court of the Saviour king Kautsīputra Bhāgabhadra during the latter's 14th prosperous regnal year."²⁴ King Bhāgabhadra of this inscription has been identified with Bhāga or Bhāgavata, the ninth Śunga king in the Purāṇa lists. His 14th regnal year would coincide with 100 B. C. Thus Antialkidas, who lived upto 100 B. C. or perhaps a little beyond this date, had a long reign.

ARCHEBIUS

Archebius, according to Rapson,²⁵ was the last ruler at Taxila of the house of Eukratides, with whom he is

23. G. B. I., p. 313.

24. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 90-91; J. Marshall, J. R.A.S., 1909, p. 1055. Cf. also J. Ph. Vogel, A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 126. The inscription reads:—

[द]वदेवस वा[सुदे]वस गरुडध्वजे ग्रयं कारिते
इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भागवतेन दिअस पुत्रेण
तरुवसिलाकेन योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस
अंतलिकितस उप[^]ता सकासं र्घो [को]सीपु[त्र]स
[भ]गभद्रस त्रातारस वसेन च[तु]दसेन वधमानस [॥]

25. C. H. I., p. 559.

associated by Dioscuroi symbols found on his coins.²⁶ But there is no evidence of his rule in Taxila. His dominions can be located only in the Kāpiśī-Nikaea region. His coins depict the divinities of only these two cities.²⁷ This Nikaea, it must again be stated, stood north of the present city of Kabul. Archebius, in fact, appears to have been only a sub-king, possibly of Antialkidas. His title Nikephoros or *Jayadhaba* which appears on all his coin-types right from the beginning of his reign, refers to his ambitions rather than to actual victories. In the latter case, it should have appeared some time after his accession. His portraits do not show any marked change caused by growth: He may have ruled for seven or eight years at the most: His reign may have ended before 100 B. C.

ARTEMEDORUS

Artemedorus ruled in Pushkalāvati and the adjacent town of Nikaea. This is indicated by the appearance on his coins of "bull" and "panther" of Pushkalāvati and of Nike.²⁸ He used the monogram 112 in common with Strato I and Antialkidas.²⁹ He must, therefore, have been their contemporary. His family affiliations cannot be ascertained from his coin-types. But at this time the ruler of Pushkalāvati and Nikaea could only be the sub-king, and hence a relative, of Antialkidas. Strato I had lost these districts to Heliokles. Rarity of Artemedorus' coins indicates a brief reign. At Nikaea he may have succeeded Archebius.

26. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 230.

27. Zeus and elephant of Kāpiśī, L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 225-30 and B. M. C., Pl. IX. 7 respectively. Nike of Nikaea, B. M. C., Pl. IX. 6, Cf. L. M. C., Sec. I, unrepresented type (iii).

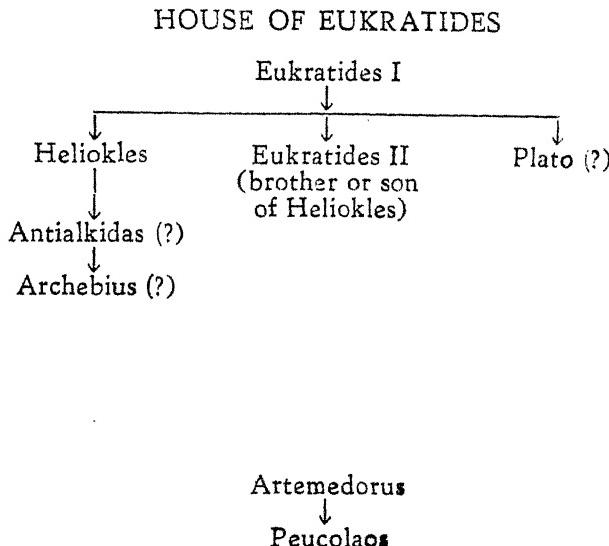
28. Bull : L. M. C., Sec. I, nos. 555-56, Pl. VII and unrepresented type (iii). Panther : ibid., unrepresented type (i); N. C., 1947, Pl. II. 4. Nike : L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 553. Cf. Tarn, G. B. I, pp. 315-16 Narain, Indo-Greeks., pp. 150-51.

29. L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 555, Pl. VII of Artemedorus and no. 367 of Strato I.

PEUCOLAOS

Peucolaos, who continued to issue the Artemis type of Artemedorus, was probably his son. He succeeded Artemedorus to the throne of Pushkalāvati-Nikaea region.³⁰ One of his Kāpiśī types is also known,³¹ indicating his rule even in Kāpiśa. Peucolaos seems to have been christened in honour of the goddess Pushkalāvatī or Peucolactis as the Greeks pronounced her name. Only two of his types are known. It suggests a very brief reign.³²

Thus the family tree of the Eukratidean princes takes the following shape :—



30. Cf. his Pushkalāvati issue, L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 642, Pl. VIII.

31. Num. Chron., 1923, Pl. XV. 4, "Zeus standing" type.

32. For the coins of Artemedorus and Peucolaos see also *supra*, p. 44.

APPENDIX

Indo-Greek Divinities¹

The Indian student is scarcely, if ever, familiar with the Greek gods. It is, therefore, necessary here to introduce him to those of the Greek divinities, who are portrayed on the Indo-Greek coins, and hence are discussed in the foregoing pages. A brief description of these is given below :—

1. Apollo : Son of Zeus and Leto and twin brother of Artemis, was born in the island of Delos, whither Leto fled from the jealous Hera. The powers ascribed to Apollo are apparently of different kinds, but all are concerned with one another. He is :—

- (1) The god who punishes, whence he is represented with a bow and arrow. All sudden deaths were believed to be the effect of his arrows ; and with them he sent the plague into the camp of the Greeks before Troy.
- (2) The god who affords help and wards off evil. As he had the power of punishing men so he was also able to deliver them, if duly propitiated. As the god who afforded help, he was the father of Aesculapius, the god of healing art, and was also identified in later times with Pallon, the god of the healing art in Homer.
- (3) The god of prophecy. Apollo exercised this power in his numerous oracles, and especially in that of

1. This description is mainly collected from Smith's "Smaller Classical Dictionary", edited by E. H. Blakeney, M.A. and published by J. M. Dent & Sons Limited, London in Everyman's Library series. Edition 1937.

Delphi. Hence he is frequently called the Pythian Apollo, from Pytho, the ancient name of Delphi. He had the Power of communicating the gift of prophecy both to gods and men.

- (4) The god of song and music. We find him in the Iliad delighting the immortal gods with his forminx, and the Homeric bards derived their art of song either from Apollo or the Muses. Hence he is placed in close connection with the Muses, and is called Musegetes, as the leader of the Muses. Later tradition ascribed to Apollo even the invention of the flute and lyre, while it is more commonly related that he received the lyre from Hermes.
- (5) The god who protects flocks and cattle. There are in Homer only a few allusions to this feature in the character of Apollo, but in later writings it assumes a prominent form, and in the story of Apollo tending the flocks of Admetus of Pherae in Thessaly, the idea reaches its climax.
- (6) The god who delights in the foundation of towns and in the establishment of civil constitutions. Hence a town or a colony was never founded by the Greeks without consulting an oracle of Apollo, so that he became, as it were, their spiritual leader.
- (7) The god of the Sun. In Homer Apollo and Helios or the Sun, are distinct ; his identification with the sun, though almost universal among later writers, was the result of later speculations and of Egyptian influence.

Appollo had more influence upon the Greeks than any other god. The Romans became acquainted with this divinity through the Greeks.

In the Indo-Greek coin-portraits Apollo laureate wears chlamys (short cloak) and boots, has quiver slung at the back and holds bow and arrow. Sometimes he is represented by tripod-lebes.

2. **Artemis**: Called Diāna by the Romans. According to the most ancient account, she was the daughter of Zeus and Leto, and the twin sister of Apollo, born with him in the island of Delos.

- (1) Artemis as the sister of Apollo is a female divinity representing the same idea that Apollo did as a male divinity. Artemis is, like her brother, armed with a bow, quiver and arrows, and sends plagues and sudden death among humans and animals, and if propitiated cures and alleviates suffering. In the Trojan war she sided, like Apollo, with the Trojans. She was more especially the protectress of the young. She came to be regarded as the goddess of the flocks and the chase and became the huntress among the immortals. Artemis, like Apollo, is unmarried, she is a maiden-divinity never conquered by love. She slew Orion with her arrows because he attempted her chastity; and she changed Actaeon into a stag because he had seen her bathing. With her brother Apollo, she slew the children of Niobe who had deemed herself superior to Leto. When Apollo was regarded as identical with the Sun or Helios, his sister, Artemis, was looked upon as Selēnē or the Moon. Hence she is represented as in love with Endymion, whom she kissed in his sleep ; but this legend properly relates to Salēnē or the Moon, and is foreign to the character of Artemis.
- (2) The Arcadian Artemis, a goddess of the nymphs, was worshipped in Arcadia in early times ; she hunted with her nymphs on the Arcadian mountains, and her chariot was drawn by four stags with golden antlers. There was no connection between the Arcadian Artemis and Apollo.
- (3) The Taurian Artemis. There was in Tauris a goddess, whom the Greeks identified with their own Artemis, and to whom all strangers thrown on the

oast of Tauris were sacrificed. Iphigenia and Orestes brought her image from thence, and landed at Brauron in Attica, whence the goddess derived the name of Brauronia. The Brauronian Artemis was worshipped at Athens and Sparta, and Spartan boys were scourged at her altar till it was besprinkled with their blood.

- (4) The Ephesian Artemis was distinct from the Greek goddess. She was an ancient Asiatic divinity whose worship the Greeks found established in Ionia, when they settled there, and to whom they gave the name of Artemis. Her image in the magnificent temple of Ephesus was represented with many breasts.

The representations of the Greek Artemis in works of art vary according to the role assigned to her. As the huntress, her breast is covered, and the legs up to the knees are naked, the rest being covered by the chlamys (short cloak). Her equipment consists of the bow, quiver and arrows, or a spear, stags and dogs. As the goddess of the moon, she wears a long robe which reaches down to her feet, a veil covers her head and above her forehead rises the crescent of the moon. The most famous of her existing statues is Versailles 'Diana', now in the Louvre, Paris.

In the Indo-Greek coin-portraits, Artemis wears eight-rayed crown, chiton and buskin, and holds bow and arrow, with quiver at the back. The Greeks, who settled in Bactria after Alexander's invasion, identified the local goddess Anahid with their own Artemis. Anahid (Anaita of the Avesta hymns and Tanata of the Persians), originally a Saka goddess, became very popular in Bactria and Persia after Cyrus brought her cult from the east. At Bactra, the capital of Bactria, stood one of her many rich temples. Artaxerxes adorned this shrine with

a magnificent statue. This image is celebrated in the Avesta hymns, which describe her as the "High-girdled one, clad in a mantle of gold, having on the head a golden crown, with eight rays and a hundred stars and clad in a robe of thirty otter-skins of the sort with a shining fur." Apparently the Indo-Greek portraits are influenced by this Bactrian image.

3. **Athena, or Athene, or Pallas:** called Minerva by the Romans, was one of the great divinities of the Greeks. She is frequently called Pallas Athena, or simply Pallas. She was the daughter of Zeus and Metis (=wise counsel). Before her birth Zeus swallowed her mother; Athena afterwards sprung forth from the head of Zeus in complete armour. As her father was the most powerful and her mother the wisest among the gods, so Athena was a combination of the two. She appears as the preserver of the state, and presides over the intellectual and moral side of human life. As the protectress of agriculture, Athena is represented as creating the olive tree (see below), inventing the plough and the rake, etc. She was the patroness of both the useful and elegant arts, such as weaving. She was believed to have instituted the ancient court of the Areopagus at Athens. She also protected the state from external enemies. In the Trojan war she sided with the Greeks. As a goddess of war she usually appears in armour, with the aegis (i.e. a shield) and a golden staff. In the center of her breast-plate or shield appears the head of Medusa, the Gorgon. This shield was given to her by Zeus. She is represented as a virgin divinity. She was the protecting divinity of Athens and Attica. The tale ran that in the reign of Cecrops both Poseidon and Athena contended for the possession of Athens. The gods resolved that

whichever of them produced a gift most useful to mortals should have possession of the land. Poseidon struck the ground with his trident and straightway a horse appeared. Athena, then planted the olive. The gods thereupon decreed that the olive was more useful to man than the horse, and gave the city to the goddess. At Athens the magnificent festival of the Panathenaea was celebrated in her honour. At this festival took place the grand procession, which was represented on the frieze of the Parthenon. The two most famous of her statues, both by Phidias, were on the Acropolis at Athens.

On the Indo-Greek coins she appears in armour, holding aegis or shield and spear, and thunderbolt which she is sometimes brandishing or hurling. On some coins she is represented only by the aegis, i.e. her peculiar shield on which the Gorgon's head is portrayed.

4. City : A city goddess, distinct from Athena, Artemis, Demeter and Nike, figures on the Indo-Greek coins. Wearing a crown surmounted with lotus flowers, clad in Indian *sari*, wields in her right hand an object described by Rapson as lotus and by P. L. Gupta¹ as a club (i.e. Indian *gada*). Under her left arm she carries a spear. The accompanying Kharoshthī legend describes her as *Pushkalavatī Devatā* [*Ambi* or *Kali*]. Although her name in the legend is truncated and its reading doubtful, she is accepted to be Pārvatī the consort of Śiva, whose bull appears on the reverse of the coin. On certain coins she holds in her hand what is described by some scholars as cornucopiae or the horn of plenty peculiar to Demeter. But the object appears more like a lotus-stalk than a horn. The divinity

1. C. H. I., p. 587 and J. N. S. I., XX, 1958, Pt. I, p. 70 respectively.

has to be identified as the city goddess of Pushkalāvatī, the city of lotuses.

5. Demeter : (Called Cérēs by the Romans), one of the great divinities of the Greeks, was regarded as the Protectress of agriculture and of all the fruits of the earth. She was the daughter of Cronus and Rhea, and sister of Zeus, by whom she became the mother of Persephōnē. Zeus, without the knowledge of Demeter, had promised Persephōnē to his brother, Aïdoneus (also called Hādēs or Pluto) the god of the nether world. While the unsuspecting maiden was gathering flowers in the Nysian plain in Asia, the earth suddenly opened and she was carried off by Aïdoneus. After wandering in search of her daughter, Demeter learnt from the Sun, that it was Aïdoneus who had carried her off. Thereupon she quitted Olympus in anger and dwelt upon the earth among men, conferring blessings wherever she was kindly received, and severely punishing those who repulsed her. In this manner she came to Eleusis, where the king Celeus received her with great hospitality, and became the first priest of Demeter at Eleusis. As the goddess still continued angry, and did not allow the earth to produce any fruits, Zeus sent Hermes into the lower world to fetch back Persephone. Aïdoneus consented, but gave Persephone part of a pomegranate to eat. Demeter returned to Olympus with her daughter, but as the latter had eaten in the lower world she was obliged to spend one-third of the year with Aïdoneus, continuing with her mother the remainder of the year. The earth now brought forth fruit again. This is the ancient legend as preserved in the Homeric hymn. The meaning of the legend is obvious : Persephone, who is carried off to the lower world, is the seed-corn, which remains concealed in the ground part of the year : Perse-

phone, who returns to her mother, is the corn, which rises from the ground, and nourishes men and animals.

The laws and regulations of civilized life were also ascribed to Demeter, since agriculture is the basis of civilization. She was worshipped in Attica and Athens with great splendour.

In works of art Demeter is represented in full attire. Around her head she wears a garland of corn-ears, or a simple riband, and in her hand she holds a sceptre, corn-ears, or a poppy, sometimes also a torch and the mystic basket.

The Romans received the worship of Demeter, whom they gave the name of Ceres, from Sicily, which was the scene of the rape of Persephone according to the Latin poets. Her worship acquired considerable political importance at Rome. The decrees of the senate were deposited in her temple for the inspection of the tribunes of the people.

Her appearance on the Indo-Greek coins is rather uncertain. The goddess on one of the types of Philoxenos, described by Whitehead in the catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore (L. M. C.) as Demeter holding cornucopiae, may as well be the city goddess of Pushkalavati holding a lotus-stalk.

6. **Dionysus :** Also called Bacchus, the god of wine. He was the son of Zeus and Semele, the daughter of Cadmus of Thebes. Before his birth, Semele was persuaded by Hera, who appeared to her in disguise, to request the father of the gods to appear to her in the same glory in which he approached his own wife Hera. Zeus unwillingly complied, and appeared to her in thunder and lightening. Semele, being seized by the flames, gave premature birth to a child ; but Zeus saved the child, sewed him up in

his thigh, and thus preserved him till he came to maturity. After his birth Dionysus was brought up by the nymphs of Mt. Nysa. When he had grown up, Hera drove him mad. He went to Egypt, thence proceeded through Syria, then traversed all Asia, teaching the inhabitants of the different countries of Asia the cultivation of the vine and introducing among them the elements of civilization. The most famous part of his wanderings in Asia is his expedition to India. On his return to Europe, he passed through Thrace, but was ill received by Lycurgus, king of the Edones. He then returned to Thebes, where he compelled the women to quit their houses, and to celebrate Bacchic festivals on Mt. Cithaeron. King Pentheus of Thebes resisted the introduction of Dionysus worship into his kingdom, and hence driven mad by the god was torn to pieces by his own mother and two sisters in Bacchic frenzy. Dionysus next went to Argos, where the people refused to acknowledge him, but after punishing the women with frenzy, he was recognised as a god. His last feat was performed on a voyage from Icaria to Naxos. He hired a ship which belonged to Tyrrhenian pirates ; but the men instead of landing at Naxos, steered towards Asia, to sell him there as a slave. Thereupon the god changed the mast and oars into serpents, and himself into a lion; ivy grew around the vessel, and the sound of flutes was heard on every side ; the sailors were seized with madness, leaped into the sea, and were metamorphosed into dolphins. After he had thus established his divine nature throughout the world, he took his mother out of Hades, called her Thyōnē, and rose with her into Olympus. Various mythological beings are described as the offspring of Dionysus. Among the women who won his love the most famous was Ariadne. In Homer Dionysus does not appear as

one of the great divinities ; he is simply described as the god who teaches man the preparation of wine. In Greece, the worship of Dionysus spread with the cultivation of vine. After Alexander's expedition to India, the Bacchic festivals increasingly assumed wild and dissolute character. Dionysus represents the productive and intoxicating power of nature. On account of the close connection between the cultivation of the soil and the earlier stages of civilization, he is regarded as a law-giver and a lover of peace. As the Greek drama had grown out of the dithyrambic choruses at the festival of Dionysus, he was also regarded as the god of tragic art. In the earliest times the Graces or Charites were the companions of Dionysus, but afterwards we find him accompanied in his expeditions and travels by Bacchantic women, all of whom are represented in art as raging with madness or enthusiasm, their heads thrown backwards, with dishevelled hair, and carrying in their hands thyrsus staffs (entwined with ivy, and headed with pine-cones), cymbals, swords, or serpents. Sileni, Pans, satyrs, centaurs, and other beings of a like kind, are also the constant companions of the god. The animal most commonly sacrificed to Dionysus was the ram. The vine, ivy, laurel, and asphodel were sacred to him. So were the dolphin, serpent, tiger, lynx, panther and ass.

In works of art he appears as a youthful god. His body is manly, but approaches the female form by its softness and roundness. The expression of his countenance is languid and his attitude is easy, like that of a man who is absorbed in sweet thoughts, or slightly intoxicated.

On the Indo-Greek coins Dionysus appears wearing wreath and holding a spear. A leopard touching a vine with raised paw is associated with

him on the reverse of the coins. The Indo-Greeks identified Dionysus with the Indian god Šiva.

7. **Dioscuroi** : Sons of Zeus, the well-known heroes Castor and Polux, called by the Greeks Polydeuces. According to Homer, they were the sons of Leda and Tyndareus, king of Lacedaemon, and consequently brothers of Helen. Castor was famous for his skill in taming horses, and Polux for his skill in boxing. Although they were buried, says Homer, yet they came to life every other day, and enjoyed divine honours. According to other traditions, both were the sons of Zeus and Leda. According to still others, only Polux and Helen were the children of Zeus, while Castor was the son of Tyndareus. Hence Polux was immortal, while Castor was subject to old age and death.

The Dioscuroi are famous for :—

- (1) Their expedition against Athens, where they rescued their sister Helen, who had been carried off by Theseus, and placed in Aphidnae, which they took.
- (2) Their part in the expedition of the Argonauts, during which Polux killed, in a boxing match, Amycus, king of the Bebryces. During the Argo-nautic expedition they founded the town of Dioscurias, in Colchis.
- (3) Their battle with the sons of Aphareus, named Idas and Lynceus. Castor, the mortal, fell by the hands of Idas, but Polux slew Lynceus, and Zeus killed Idas by a flash of lightening. At the request of Polux, Zeus allowed him to share his brother's fate, and to live alternately one day under the earth, and the other in the heavenly abodes of the gods. According to a different version of the story, Zeus rewarded the attachment of the two brothers by placing them among the stars as Gemini.

These heroic youths received divine honours at Sparta, from whence their worship spread over other parts of Greece, and over Sicily and Italy. They were worshipped more especially as the protectors of sailors, for Poseidon had given them power over winds and waves. They were regarded as presidents of the public games, as the inventors of the war dance, and as the patrons of poets and bards.

They are usually represented in works of art as youthful horsemen, wearing piloi, the egg-shaped helmets crowned with stars, and with spears in their hands.

Very popular on the coins of the Indo-Greek princes of the house of Eukratides, the Dioscuroi were represented there exactly as elsewhere in Greek art. In addition to long spears or lances they carry palms. Often the gods are represented on coins merely by palms and their peculiar egg-shaped caps or helmets called the piloi. These twin gods seem to have been borrowed from the Indian mythology and transformed into new characters. The originals obviously were the Aśvinikumāras.

- 8. Hecate :** A mysterious divinity, probably a moon goddess (or as some think, an earth goddess), commonly represented as a daughter of Persaeus or Perse, and hence called Perseis. She was one of the Titans, and the only one of this race who retained her power under the rule of Zeus. The extensive power possessed by her was probably the reason that she was subsequently identified with Selene or Luna in heaven, Artemis or Diana on the earth, and Persephone or Proserpina in the lower world. In keeping with her threefold role, she is described with three bodies or three heads. Hence her epithets *tergemīna*, *triformis*, *triceps*, etc. She took part

in the search after Proserpina, and when the latter was found, remained with her as her attendant and companion. She thus became a deity of the lower world, from where she sent at night demons and phantoms. She taught sorcery and witchcraft and dwelt at places where two roads crossed, on tombs, and near the blood of murdered persons. She herself wandered about with the souls of the dead, and her approach was announced by the whining and the howling of dogs. At Athens, at the close of every month, dishes with food were set out for her at the points where two roads crossed ; and this food was consumed by poor people. The sacrifices offered to her consisted of dogs, honey, and black female lambs.

In the Indo-Greek coinage, the appearance of Hecate is rare. This three-headed divinity, held by Zeus on his palm, appears only on one type each of Pantaleon and Agathocles. Dr. Tarn opines¹ that she was Hecate of the Three Ways, Trioditis, who was worshipped at a place where three roads met. It appears, this mysterious goddess was later identified by the Indo-Greeks with Nike, who on their coins so often figures on the palm of Zeus, even as she got mixed up with many other goddesses in Greece itself.

9. Helios: Sun-god, called *Sol* by the Romans and Mithra by the ancient Persians, was the son of Hyperion and Thea and a brother of Selene (the Moon) and Eos (Dawn). Homer describes Helios as rising in the east from Oceanus, traversing the heaven, and descending in the evening into the darkness of the west and Oceanus. Later poets embellished this simple notion. From his magnificent palace in the east Helios starts in the morning

1. G. B. I., p. 158.

in a chariot drawn by four horses. In the evening he arrives at his second palace in the west. His horses feed upon herbs growing in the Islands of the Blessed. Helios sees and hears everything. The island of Thrinasia (Sicily) was sacred to him ; and there he had flocks of sheep and oxen, which were tended by his daughters, Phaetusa and Lampetia. He was worshipped in many parts of Greece, and especially in the island of Rhodes, where the famous colossus was the representation of this god. The sacrifices offered to him consisted of white rams, bears, bulls, goats, lambs, and especially white horses and honey. Among the animals sacred to him, the cock receives special mention. This god was distinct from Apollo in Homer, but was later identified with him.

Helios radiate holding long sceptre figures on some of the Indo-Greek coins. On a coin of Plato he is shown driving a quadriga of horses.

10. **Hēracles or Hercūles:** According to Homer, Heracles was the son of Zeus by Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, of Thebes in Boeotia. On the day on which Heracles was to be born, Zeus boasted of becoming the father of a hero destined to rule over the race of Perseus, who was the grandfather both of Amphitryon and Alcmene. Hera prevailed upon him to swear that the descendant of Perseus, born that day, should be the ruler. Thereupon she hastened to Argos and there caused the wife of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus, to give birth to Eurystheus; whereas she delayed the birth of Heracles, and thus robbed him of the empire which Zeus had destined for him. Zeus was enraged, but could not violate his oath. Alcmene brought into the world two boys, Heracles, the son of Zeus, and Iphicles, the son of Amphitryon, who was one night younger than Heracles. While yet in the cradle,

Heracles strangled the two serpents, Hera had sent to destroy him. As he grew up, he was instructed by Amphitryon in driving the chariot, by Autolycus in wrestling, by Eurytus in archery, by Castor in fighting in heavy armour, and by Linus in singing and playing the lyre. Linus was killed by his pupil with the lyre, because he had censured him; and Amphitryon, to prevent similar occurrences, sent him to feed his cattle. In this manner he spent his life till his eighteenth year. His first great adventure happened while he was watching his father's oxen. A lion made havoc among the flocks of Amphitryon and Thespius, king of Thespiae. Heracles slew the lion. Henceforth he wore its skin as his ordinary garment, and its mouth and head as his helmet. Thespius rewarded him by giving up his fifty daughters to him. Another version is that his lion's skin was taken from Nemean lion. He next defeated and killed Erginus, king of Orchomenos, to whom the Thebans used to pay tribute. In this battle Hercules lost his father, Amphitryon; but Creon rewarded him with the hand of his daughter, Megara, by whom he fathered many children. The gods made him presents of arms, and he carried a huge club, which he had cut for himself in the neighbourhood of Nemea. Soon afterwards, Heracles was driven mad by Hera, and in this state he killed his own childred by Megara and two of Iphicles. In his grief he went into exile and met Thespius, who purified him. He then consulted the oracle of Delphi as to where he should settle. The Pythia was the first to call him by the name of Heracles—hitherto his name had been Alcides or Alcaeus—and ordered him to live at Tiryns, and to serve Eurystheus for the space of twelve years, after which he should become immortal. At Tiryns, Heracles performed at the bidding of Eurystheus his twelve labours celebrated in later writers. Homer

mentions only one of the twelve, e.g. his descent into the lower world to carry off Cerberus. He also mentions Hercules' fight with a sea-monster, his expedition to Troy to fetch the horses which Laomedon had refused him, and his war against the Pylians. Chronologically the twelve labours are :—

- (1) Strangulation of the Nemean lion with his hands.
- (2) Burning away of the eight heads of the Lernean hydra, and burying the ninth, the last and immortal head, under a rock. This monster was a brother of the Nemean lion. When cut off, two grew in place of each one of its heads. Heracles poisoned his arrows with the bile of the monster, whence the wounds inflicted by them became incurable.
- (3) Capture of the Arcadian stag, which had golden antlers and brazen feet.
- (4) Destruction of the Erymanthian boar. In the course of this and subsequent labours Hercules performed other subordinate ones, called Parerga, the first of which was his fight with centaurs.
- (5) Cleansing of the stables of Augeas, king of Elis, in one day. This stable of 3000 oxen had not been cleaned for thirty years. He turned the rivers Alpheus and Peneus through the stalls, and thereby cleaned them in a single day. Augeas broke his promise to reward Heracles by handing over tenth part of his cattle. Heracles, therefore, invaded Elis at a later date and killed Augeas and his sons. After this he founded the Olympic games.
- (6) Destruction of the Stymphalian birds brought up by Ares. These birds had brazen claws, wings and beaks, used their feathers as arrows, and ate human flesh. With the brazen rattle provided by Athena, Heracles startled these birds and killed them with arrows.
- (7) Capture of the Cretan bull. Poseidon had gifted

this beautiful bull to Minos for sacrifice. But the latter sacrificed another in its place. Poseidon punished Minos by driving the bull mad.

- (8) Capture of the mares of the Thracian king Diomedes.
- (9) Seizure of the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, and on his way back, rescue of Hesione from a monster.
- (10) Capture of the oxen of Geryones in the island of Erythia. On his way to this island he reached the straits of Gibraltar, where he erected two pillars on the two sides of the straits. Annoyed by the heat of the sun, Heracles shot at Helios (the Sun), who out of admiration for his boldness presented him with a golden cup or boat in which he sailed to Erythia. There he slew not only the monster Geryones who possessed three bodies but also the giant Eurytion and his two-headed dog, Orthus, both of whom guarded the former's oxen. On his way back he returned the boat to Helios.
- (11) Fetching the golden apples of Hesperides. Hera had received these apples at her wedding from Ge (the Earth), and had entrusted to the keeping of the Hesperides and the dragon Ladon, on Mt. Atlas. On arriving at Mt. Atlas Heracles sent Atlas to fetch the apples, and in the meantime bore the weight of heaven for him. Atlas returned with the apples, but refused to take back the burden of heaven. Heracles, however, contrived by stratagem to get the apples and hastened away. Later the apples were dedicated to Athena, who returned them to their former place.
- (12) Bringing Cerberus from the lower world. Pluto allowed Heracles to carry the monster to the upper world, but without using the force of arms. Heracles accomplished it.

After he was released from the servitude of Eurystheus at the end of the twelve labours, he had to put in another three years' service under Omphale, queen of Lydia, by way of atonement for the murder of Iphitus. During this period and afterwards he performed many more feats, before he returned home. Once his wife, Deianira, soaked Heracle's garment with the blood of the centaur Nessus for preserving her husband's love. But the blood had got poisoned by the arrow with which Heracles had shot the centaur. The poison penetrated into all his limbs. Heracles tore away whole pieces from his body in an attempt to wrench off the garment, which stuck to his flesh. He then raised a pile of wood on Mt. Oeta, and tried to burn himself. When the pile was burning, a cloud came down from heaven, and among peals of thunder carried him to Olympus, where he was honoured with immortality, became reconciled to Hera, and married her daughter Hebe.

In course of time his worship spread throughout Greece, Rome and Italy. The sacrifices offered to him consisted of bulls, boars, rams and lambs. Farnese Heracles is his finest representation that has survived (now in Naples Museum, it is probably a copy of the statue by Lysippus).

Heracles was the object of special worship among the Indo-Greek princes of the house of Euthydemus. He appears to have been adopted by them as a family divinity. He figures very often on their coins. Curiously, he is scrupulously excluded from coin-portraits by the rulers of the rival Greek house of Eukratides. He is depicted or standing seated on rock, crowned with ivy, holding or wearing lion's skin, and always carrying his club, sometimes also a catapult or a palm or a wreath. On one type of Zoilus, Nike is standing on his shoulder crowning him. He was identified

by the Indo-Greeks with the Indian god Vishnu.

- 11. Nike :** Called Victoria by the Romans, goddess of Victory, is described as a daughter of Pallas and Styx, and as a sister of Zelus (zeal), Cratos (strength), and Bia (force). Nike had a celebrated temple on the acropolis of Athens. It is still extant. In appearance she resembled Athena, but had wings, and carried a palm or a wreath, and was engaged in raising a trophy, or in inscribing the victory of the conqueror on a shield. Her most famous statue was erected by Augustus to commemorate his victory at Actium.

Frequently portrayed on the Indo-Greek coins, Nike was equally honoured by the rulers of both the feuding houses. She is portrayed either independently in the conventional as well as an unconventional form, or as standing on the palm of Zeus, or less frequently on that of Heracles or of Pallas. She is shown with wings, holding wreath and palm. In some unconventional portraits she wears pilei, the caps peculiar to Dioscuroi and is dressed like Artemis.

- 12. Pallas :** See Athena.

- 13. Poseidon :** Identified with Neptunus by the Romans, was the god of the Mediterranean Sea. He was the son of Cronos and Rhea, whence he is called Cronius, and by Latin poets Saturnius. Accordingly he was a brother of Zeus and Hades. It was determined by lot that he should rule over the sea. Like his brothers and sisters, he was after birth, swallowed by his father, but thrown up again. In the Homeric poems Poseidon is described as equal to Zeus in dignity, but less powerful. He resented the attempts of Zeus to intimidate him ; he even threatened his mightier brother, and once conspired with Hera and Athena to put him in chains ; but on other occasions we find him submissive to Zeus.

The palace of Poseidon was in the depth of the sea near Aegae in Euboea, where he kept his horses with brazen hoofs and golden manes. With these horses he rode a chariot over the waves of the sea, which became smooth as he approached, while the monsters of the deep played around his chariot. Poseidon in conjunction with Apollo built the walls of Troy for Laomedon, whence Troy is called Neptunia Pergama. Poseidon sided with the Greeks in the Trojan war. In the Odyssey he appears hostile to Ulysses. He created the horse, when he disputed with Athena as to which of them should give name to the capital of Attica. He was accordingly believed to have taught men the art of managing horses by the bridle, and to have been the originator and protector of horse races. He even metamorphosed himself into a horse, for the purpose of deceiving Demeter. Poseidon was married to Amphitrite, by whom he had three children : Triton, Rhode and Benthesicyme. The sacrifices offered to him generally consisted of black and white bulls, rams and wild boars. Horse and chariot races were held in his honour on the Corinthian isthmus. The symbol of Poseidon's power was the trident, or a spear with three points. The pine tree was sacred to him. So were the dolphin and the horse.

On Indo-Greek coins he is represented wearing diadem and himation (outer garment), and holding a long trident, palm and fillet. On a type of Nikias he is symbolised by a dolphin twined round an anchor.

14. **Triton** : Son of Poseidon and Amphitrite, he dwelt in a golden palace in the bottom of the sea, or according to Homer, at Aegae. Later writers describe him as riding over the sea on sea horses or other monsters. Sometimes Tritons are mentioned

in the plural. They are conceived as having the human figure in the upper part of their bodies, and that of a fish in the lower part. At the command of Poseidon the Tritons blew on a trumpet made out of a shell (*concha*), to soothe the waves.

Triton is only once represented on Indo-Greek coins. On a type of Hippostratus he is depicted holding dolphin and rudder.

- 15. Zeus :** Identified with Jupiter by the Romans, the greatest of the Olympian gods, was a son of Cronus and Rhea, and a brother of Poseidon, Hades (also called Pluto), Hestia, Demeter and Hera. He was married to his sister Hera. When Zeus and his brothers overthrew Cronus one of the Titans, and distributed among themselves the government of the world by lot, Poseidon obtained the sea, Hades the lower world, and Zeus the heavens and the upper regions, but the earth became common to all. According to the Homeric account, Zeus dwelt on Mt. Olympus, in Thessaly. This mountain was believed to penetrate with its lofty summit into heaven itself. Zeus is called the father of gods and men, the most powerful among the immortals. He is the supreme ruler, the founder of kingly power, and of law and order, whence Dice, Themis and Nemesis are his assistants. Fate is subordinate to him. He is armed with thunder and lightning, and the shaking of his aegis (shield) produces storm and tempest: a number of epithets of Zeus in the Homeric poems, describe him as the thunderer, the gatherer of clouds, and the like. By Hera he had two sons, Ares and Hephaestus, and one daughter, Hebe. Oak, with its eatable fruit, and the prolific doves, were sacred to him.

Having been foretold by Ge (earth) and Uranus, that he would be dethroned by one of his own children, Cronus swallowed successively his children

Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Pluto and Poseidon. Rhea, therefore, concealed the new-born Zeus in a cave of Mt. Aegaeon, and gave to Cronus a stone wrapped up in cloth, which he swallowed in the belief that it was his son. Traditions vary about his birth place, e.g. Zeus was born and brought up on Mt. Dicte or Ida (also the Trojan Ida), Ithome in Messenia, Thebes in Boeotia, Aegion Achaia, or Olenos in Aetolia. According to the common account, however, Zeus grew up in Crete. In the meantime Cronus, by a device of Metis, was made to bring up the children he had swallowed, and first of all the stone, which was afterwards set up by Zeus at Delphi. Zeus now overthrew Cronus, and obtained the dominion of the world, and chose Metis for wife. When she was pregnant with Athena, he took the child out of her body and concealed it in his head, on the advice of Uranus and Ge, who told him that if Metis gave birth to a son, this son would acquire the sovereignty. After this Zeus became the father of the Horae and Moerae by his second wife Themis, of the Charities or Graces by Eurynome, of Persephone by Demeter, of the Muses by Mnemosyne, of Apollo and Artemis by Leto, and of Hebe, Ares and Ilithyia by Hera. Athena was born out of the head of Zeus, while Hera gave birth to Hephaestus without the co-operation of Zeus. The family of the Cronidae accordingly embraces the 12 great gods of Olympus, namely, Zeus (the head of them all), Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Hermes, Hephaestus, Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Athena, Aphrodite and Artemis. The eagle, the oak, and the summits of mountains were sacred to him, and his sacrifices consisted of goats, bulls and cows. His attributes are, the sceptre, eagle, thunderbolt and a figure of Nike (Victory) in his hand, and sometimes also cornucopia (the horn of plenty). The Olympian Zeus sometimes wears a wreath of

olive, and the Dodonaean Zeus a wreath of oak leaves.

Zeus figures very frequently on the Indo-Greek coins. He is portrayed either standing or seated on throne. He generally holds thunderbolt, which sometimes he is on the point of hurling. He holds sceptre and thunderbolt or sceptre and eagle or wreath and palm. On his outstretched hand he generally holds Nike (Victory), and, on one issue of Amyntas, Pallas. As thunderer he was known as Zeus Ombrios, and was identified with the Indian god Indra Vajrapāṇi. When holding Nike he was known as Zeus Nikephoros.

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

Some of the attributes of the Greek gods also need explanation to the Indian student. They are :—

1. **Aegis** : A shield, particularly the one given by Zeus to Athena (Pallas or Minerva). This shield bore the device of the head of Medussa, the Gorgon.
2. **Caduceus** : The staff given by Apollo to Hermes (Mercury) the herald or messenger of Zeus and other gods. This wand was surmounted with two wings and entwined by two serpents. These serpents had gradually taken the place of the white ribbons which originally surrounded the herald's staff.
3. **Chiton** : Greek undershirt. Over this was worn the 'himation' and 'chlamys'.
4. **Chlamys** : A short cloak for men, a purple cope.
5. **Cornucopiae** : The horn of plenty, the horn of the goat that suckled Zeus, and was placed among the stars as an emblem of plenty.
6. **Himation** : An ancient Greek outer garment, oblong in shape and thrown over the left shoulder and fastened over or under the right one.

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PLATES I to VI
COINS

PLATE VII
MONOGRAMS

PLATE I

DIODOTUS I.

King of Bactria. 250 to 230 B. C.¹

1. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obverse: In dotted circle, head of Diodotus I r., diademed with one end floating freely behind and the other hanging stiffly down.

[*Reverse*: Zeus l. with aegis, hurling thunderbolt. To l. wreath and eagle. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, I. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ. R. field B.]

See also *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. I. 1.

DIODOTUS II.

King of Bactria. 230 to 220 B. C.

2. AR Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of Diodotus II r., diad. as on no. 1 above.

Rev. : Zeus striding l., hurling thunderbolt, aegis on l. arm, wreath underneath it and ΘΥ in between; near l. foot eagle l. To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Το l. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. II. 13; *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. I. 3.

EUTHYDEMUS I.

King of Bactria, 220 to 192 B.C.

3. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of king r.; diad. as on no. 1 above.

I. Locations and dates are based on the conclusions arrived at in my work, *North-West India during the Second Century B. C.*

Rev. : Naked Heracles seated l. on rocks, club held in r. hand rests on a pillar of stones in front. To r. mon. 6. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 1.

4. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, elderly head of Euthydemus I to r., diad. as on no. 1 above.

Rev. : As no. 3, but end of club rests on r. thigh, and mon. 17.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 2; *L. M. C.*, Section I, p. 11, no. 8. Pl. I.; Also *I. M. C.*, Section I, no. 4, Pl. I. 4.

DEMETRIUS I.

King of Bactria, 192 to 175 B.C.

5. AR. Attic Tetradrachm. Issued as sub-king before 192 B. C. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of youthful Demetrius I, wearing elephant-shaped cap, diad. with ends treated as on no. 1.

See also *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. I. 5.

6. AR. Attic tetradrachm. I. M. and B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of Demetrius I r., wearing elephant-shaped cap, diad. as on no. 5 above.

Rev. : Heracles standing facing, placing wreath on head with r. hand, and holding club and lion's skin with l. To l. mon. 17. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 3; *I. M. C.*, Section I, p. 9, no. 1, Pl. I. 9.

APOLLODOTUS.

King of Sauvira (Sindh). 175 to 160 B. C.

7. AR. B. M.

Obv. : Encircled with wreath, Apollo stands to r., holding up arrow with both hands each supporting an end, bow suspended on left forearm, quiver at back: L. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, r. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev. : In bead-and-reel circular border, tripod. To l. mon. 62. Kh legend, top : *Maharajasa tratarasa*, below : *Apaladatasa*.

See also *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. IV. 5.

8. AR. Didrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Draped bust of Apollodotus r., diad. as on no. 1. L., top and r.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, below : ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev. : Pallas l., hurling thunderbolt, aegis on l. arm. To l. mon. 62, to r. mon. 143. Kh. legend, top : *Maharajasa tratarasa*, below : *Apaladatasa*.

See also *B. M. C.*, Pl. X. 1; *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. IV. 6.
J. N. S. I., 1954, XVI, Pt. II, pp. 293-331.

PLATE II

ANTIMACHUS I.

Sub-king at Merv. 193 to 173 B. C.

1. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M. and P. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of Antimachus I r., wearing causia, diad. with both ends suspended stiffly at the back, peculiar smile playing on lips.

Rev. : Poseidon standing to front, wearing himation but naked above waist, diad., long trident in r. hand, under l. arm palm bound with fillet. To r. mon. 129. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ, l. ANTIMAXOY.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 8; *L. M. C.*, Section I, nos. 55-56, Pl. II.

2. AR. Pedigree Series. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of Euthydemus I r., diad. with floating end rather bent down to bring it in conformity with the latest fashion. R. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ, l. ΘΕΟΥ.

Rev. : Heracles seated on rocks l. exactly as on the coins of Euthydemus I, e. g. Pl. I. 1 above. To r. mon. 39. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, l. ANTIMAXOY, in exergue: ΘΕΟΥ.

See also *J. N. S. I.*, XVII, 1955, Pt. I, Pl. III. 1; Pl. III. 2 is also similar, but dies differ.

EUTHYDEMUS II.

Sub-king in Bactria. 189 to 187 B. C.

3. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of Euthydemus II r., diad. with both ends floating freely at the back:

Rev. : Heracles standing to front, holding wreath in outstretched r. hand, and in l. holding club and lion's skin. To l. mon. 15. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

See also *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 4.

DEMETRIUS II.

Sub-king in Kāpiśa and Bactria. 186 to 170 B. C.

4. AR. B. M.

Obv. : Draped bust of Demetrius II r., wearing causia, diad. with floating end treated rather stiffly. Top : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANIKHTOY, below : ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Rev. : Draped Zeus standing to front, holding sceptre in l. and thunderbolt in r. hand. To r. mon. 121. Kh. legend, top : *Maharajasa apadihatasa* below : *Dimetriyasa*.

See also *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. I. 9.

— —

PANTALEON.

Sub-king at Pushkalāvatī (Gandhāra). 185 to 182 B.C.

5. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of Pantaleon r., diad. with both ends floating freely.

Rev. : Zeus naked to waist, seated l., holding figure of Hekate in r. hand and leaning on sceptre with l. To l. mon. 15. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, to l. : ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Cf. B. M. C., Pl. XXX. 4 ; N. C., 1923, Pl. XIV. 3 ; C. H. I., Pl. III. 7.

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PLATE III

AGATHOCLES.

Sub-king in Gandhāra and Kāpiśa. 182 to 170 B.C.

1. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M. and D. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, draped bust of Agathocles r., diad. with both ends floating freely at the back.

Rev. : Zeus standing facing, clad in himation, naked above waist, leaning with l. hand on long sceptre, on outstretched r. hand Hekate who holds two torches. To l. mon. 15. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. III. 6. Also see, L. M. C., Sec. I, no. 42, Pl. II.

2. AE. B. M. and P. M.

Obv. : Six-arched *Chaitya*. Kh. legend, *Akathukreyasa*.

Rev. : Tree in railing. Kh. legend, *hirañña*[*same*].

Cf. L.M.C., Sec. I, p. 18, Pl. II. 51, reverse legend wrongly deciphered as *hitaja*[*same*]; A.S.R., 1928, p. 65, no. 3; Taxila, Pl. 236, no. 45, also see vol. II, p. 847; and Allan, B. M. C., India. pp. cxxxii sq.

3. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Commemorative, B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of Antiochus II r., diad. one end floating. To r. ANTIOCHOY, to l. NIKATOROΣ.

Rev. : Zeus striding l., hurling thunderbolt, to l. eagle l. and wreath. To r. mon. 140. To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, l. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, in exergue ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Cf. B.M.C., Pl. XXX. 5; C. A. S. E., II. 3; C.H.I., Pl. IV; I.

4. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Commemorative. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of Diodotus I r., diad. one end floating freely and the other suspended stiffly.

Rev. : Zeus striding l., hurling thunderbolt, in front of him eagle l. and wreath. (The whole device exactly as on no. 3 above). To r. mon. 15. Legend, r. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ, l. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Cf. *C. H. I.*, Pl. III. 9 (but wrongly assigned to Demetrius I); see also *B.M.C.*, IV. 2.

5. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Commemorative. B. M.

Obv. : In dotted circle, head of Euthydemus I r. diad. R. ΕΥΘΥΑΗΜΟΥ, 1. ΘΕΟΥ.

Rev. : Herakles seated l. on rocks, grasping in r. hand his club, the other end of which rests on knee. To r. mon. 15. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, 1. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, in exergue ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Cf. *B. M. C.*, IV. 3; *C.H.I.*, Pl. IV. 2.

MENANDER.

King of Sauvira, west Panjab and Afghanistan.
158 to 138 B.C.

6. AR. Issued as sub-king before 158 B.C. B. M.

Obv. : Draped and helmeted bust of baby king r. Above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below MENANΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. : Pallas striding l., holding shield in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r. To r. mon. 17. Kh. legend indistinct, but appears to be as on no. 8 below.

Cf. *Taxila*, Pl. 236, no. 55. *B. M. C.*, Pl. XI. 9

7. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Aziz-beglou.

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped bust of teen-aged Menander r., diad. both ends hanging stiffly down:

Rev. : Pallas as on no. 6 above. To l. mon. 103. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, l. MENANΔΡΟΥ.

Cf. *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. II. 7.

8. AR.

Obv. : Draped bust of Menander r., diad. both ends stiffly suspended. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below MENANΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. : Pallas (Athene Promachos) l., as on no. 6 above. To l. mon. 111 with ρ (rho) appended. Kh. legend, above *Maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Menamdrasa*.

Cf. *C.H.I.*, Pl. VII. 18 ; and Pl. XXX. e where erroneously assigned to Apollodotus. Also *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Pl. II. 7.

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ANTIMACHUS II NIKEPHOROS.

Sub-king under Menander.

9. AR. I. M.

Obv. : Nike (Victory) l., holding palm in r. and wreath in l. hand. To l. mon. 13. Circular continuous legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ NIKEΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev. : King on prancing horse r., circular continuous Kh. legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa*.

Cf. *C.H.I.*, Pl. VI. 3 ; *I. M. C.*, Sec. I, p. 29, no. 1 and Pl. VI. 3. Also similar but with different mon. : *L. M. C.*, Sec. I, nos. 557-70, and Pl. VII.

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PLATE IV

LYSIAS.

Sub-king under Menander.

1. AR. Qunduz hoard, Kabul Museum.

Obv. : In bead-and-reel border, draped bust of Lysias r., wearing elephant scalp, diad. one end floating and the other stiffly suspended.

Rev. : Heracles standing to front, holding lion-skin and club in l. hand and placing wreath upon head with r. To l. mon. 122 (this mon. occurs on his bilingual coins also, e. g. *I. M. C.*, Pl. III. 4). Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 51, no. 43. Pl. VI. 4.

AGATHOCLEIA and STRATO I.

Rulers of Sauvira and West Panjab. 138 to 135 B.C.

2. \varnothing E. Square. P. M.

Obv. : Draped and helmeted bust of queen (as Athene) r., without diadem. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. : Herakles seated l. on rock, club held in r. hand and resting on knee. To l. mon. 114. Kh. legend, *Maharajasa tratarastra dhramikasa Stratasa*.

Cf. *L. M. C.*, Sec. I, no. 370, Pl. V ; *C. H. I.*, Pl. VII. 25.

3. \varnothing R. B. M. and P. M.

Obv. : Conjugate busts of Strato I and Agathocleia r., draped, Strato alone wears diadem, Above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ, below ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ

[*Rev.* : Type, Athene Promachos].

Cf. *C. H. I.*, Pl. VII. 19. Also compare *L. M. C.*, Sec. I, p. 52, unrepresented type (i) with *J. N. S. I.*, XVI, 1954, Pt. II, p. 11 (or *N.C.*, 1950, p. 215); Kh. legends on rev. of these two joint issues vary.

STRATO I.

King of Sauvira and parts of West Panjab, 135
B.C. to 80 B.C.

4. AR. Didrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Draped, helmeted and diademed bust of boyish king. L., top and r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, in exergue ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

[*Rev.* : Same as no. 3 above]

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. VII. 20; N. C., 1948, Pl. VIII. 6.

5. AR. P. M.

Obv. : Draped bust of youthful bearded king r., diad. both ends stiffly suspended. L., top and r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

[*Rev.* : Same as above].

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. VII. 21; L. M. C., Sec. I., no. 355, Pl. V.

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STRATO I and STRATO II.

6. AR. P. M.

Obv. : Bust of aged Strato I, diad. both ends hanging stiffly. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΣΩΤΗΡC ΣΤΡΑΤΩNC [ΚΑΙ ΘΙΛΟ]/ ΣΤΡΑΤΩNC.

Rev. : Athene Promachos l., Kh. legend, *Mahara-janam tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita-/Stratasa.*

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. VII. 23.

STRATO I

7. AR. Enlarged impression. B. M.

Obv. : Draped and diad. bust of Strato I r. at the fag end of life with lengthened nose and sunken cheeks. Indistinct Greek legend.

Cf. *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. III. 11.

AMYNTAS.

Sub-king under Strato I.

8. AR. Double decadrachm. Largest Indo-Greek silver coin known; wt. 84 grams. Qunduz hoard in Kabul Museum.

Obv. : In bead-and-reel border, draped bust of Amyntas helmeted and diad. with both ends stiffly suspended.

[*Rev.* : Zeus enthroned, holding Pallas on outstretched r. hand, and sceptre and palm in l. hand. To l. mon. 72. Top ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ NIKATORΟΣ, below AMYNTOY.]

Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 51 and Pl. VII. 1-3 and Pl. VIII. 1 and 2; *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. V. 1.

HERMAEUS.

King of Kāpiśī-Nikaea region in northern Afghanistan.
80 to 70 B.C.

9. AR.

Obv. : Draped bust of Hermaeus r., diad. both ends stiffly suspended. L., top and r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below EPMAIOY.

Rev. : Zeus enthroned, holding an unidentified object in outstretched r. hand. To r. mon. 130. Kh. legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa*.

See C. H. I., Pl. VII. 37. Compare *Indo-Greeks*
Pl. V. 3 and *J. N. S. I.*, XVII, 1955, Pt. I,
Pl. VIII. 5. *I. M. C.*, Sec. I, p. 32, no. 5.

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HERMAEUS and KADPHISES.

Issued by the latter long after Hermaeus' death,

10. Æ. Taxila Museum:

Obv. : Crude bust of Hermaeus r., diad.,
Gk. legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. : Herakles facing, lion's skin on l. arm, in hand
a club with lower end resting on ground.
Kh. legend, *Dhramathidasa Kujula Kasasa*
(*Kushana javugasa*)

Cf. A. S. R., 1914, p. 33; *Taxila*, Pl. 242,
no. 228.

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PLATE V

EUKRATIDES I.

King of Bactria. 180 to 170 B. C.

1. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Commemorating Heliocles and
Laodike.

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped busts
jugate r. of Heliocles, with bare head, and
Laodike, wearing diadem. In l. field mon.
15. Above ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, below ΚΑΙ
ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Rev. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped bust of
Eukratides r., diad. both ends stiffly sus-
pended, wearing helmet decorated with
horn and ears of bull. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΜΕΓΑΣ, below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 3, and *Indo-Greeks*,
Pl. II. 1.

2. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped bust of Eukratides r., diad. both ends stiffly suspended.

Rev. : The Dioscuroi, wearing pilei, carrying palms, riding horses r., holding spears. Under horses' forelegs mon. 17. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 4.

3. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : As the reverse of no. 1 above, but without any legend.

Rev. : As the reverse of no. 2 above, but mon. 13 to l. and legend, above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 5.

4. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, undraped bust of Eukratides l., diad. and helmeted, spear in uplifted r. hand.

Rev. : Same as no. 3 above, but mon. 15 under the horses' forelegs.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 6.

5. AE. *Kāpiśi-devatā* type. Square. B. M. and P. M.

[*Obv.* : Bust of king r., wearing helmet. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, r. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ].

Rev. : City divinity of Kāpiśi, viz. Zeus-Indra, wearing turreted crown, seated to front on throne, an unidentified object in outstretched r. hand. To l. forepart of an elephant, to r. a mountain or *chaitya*,

Kh. legend r., top and l. *Kavisiye nagara devata*.

Cf. *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. IV. 8; *C. H. I.*, Pl. VII. 36; *L. M. C.*, Sec. I, no. 131, Pl. III.

6. *Æ*. *Kavisi-devata* type. Square. Overstruck on a coin of Apollodotus. B. M.

Obv. : Draped, helmeted and diademed bust of Eukratides r. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, r. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Traces of understrike visible, e.g. on top r.

Rev. : Same as no. 5 above, but traces of understrike visible. Mark Kh. -*datasa* on top. The entire name, *Apaladatasa*, is legible on the coin.

Cf. *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. IV. 9.

7. *Æ*. *Kavisi-devata* type. Square. P. M.

Obv. : Same as no. 6 above.

Rev. : Same as no. 5 above.

Cf. *L. M. C.*, Sec. I, no. 131, Pl. III; *C. H. I.*, Pl. VII. 36. *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. IV. 8, describes the figure as "female deity".

PLATE VI

HELICCLES.

King of Bactria, Kāpiśa and Gandhāra. 170 to 135 B.C.

1. *AR.* Attic tetradrachm. B. M. and P. M.

Obv. : Draped bust of Heliccles r., diad. both ends suspended stiffly.

Rev. : Draped Zeus standing facing, l. heel lifted, holding thunderbolt in r. hand and l. hand supported on a long sceptre. To l. mon. 141. R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, in exergue ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 8; L. M. C., Sce. I, no. 133,
Pl. III.

2. AR. B. M.

Obv. : Draped and helmeted bust of Heliocles r.,
diad. one end floating, the other stiffly sus-
pended.

Rev. : Top ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, below
ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Cf. Indo-Greeks, Pl. II. 6.

PLATO.

Sub-king under Heliocles.

3. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Within continuous circular border, draped
and helmeted bust of Plato r.

Rev. : Helios radiate, in quadriga, galloping r. To r.
mon. 86, in exergue MI (?). Legend, l.,
top and r. continuous ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 7.

EUKRATIDES II.

Sub-king under Heliocles.

4. AR. Attic tetradrachm. B. M.

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped bust of
Eukratides II r., diad. both ends stiffly
suspended.

Rev. : Apollo standing to front, face inclined l.,
looking along arrow held in r. hand, with l.
leaning on strung bow. To l. mon. 142.
R. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. IV. 9.

ANTIALKIDAS.

King of Kāpiśa and Gandhāra. 135 to 95 B. C.

5. AR. Attic tetradrachm. Qundus hoard, Kabul Museum..

Obv. : Within bead-and-reel border, draped and helmeted bust of Antialkidas, diad. one end floating and the other stiffly suspended.

Rev. : Zeus enthroned half l., holding wreath, bearing Nike in outstretched r. hand, sceptre in l. In l. field forepart cf elephant. To r. mon. 120. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, in exergue ANTIALKIΔΟΥ.

Cf. J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, Pl. VI. 6.

PUSHKALĀVĀI NAGARA-DEVATĀ TYPE,
of an unknown king.

6. AV. B. M.

Obv. : City goddess of Pushkalavati, wearing a crown surmounted with lotus flowers, clad in *sāri*, holding a lotus in r. hand. Kh. legend, r. *Pakhalavadi devata*. L. broken Kh. legend, but restored as *Kali* (*Ambi* by P. L. Gupta, J. N. S. I., XVII, 1955, Pt. I, p. 70).

Rev. : Indian humped bull r. Top TAYPOC, bottom Kh. *ushabhe*.

Cf. C. H. I., Pl. VI. 10.

7. AV. B. M.

Obv. : Five times enlarged impression of no. 6 above.

See J. N. S. I., XX, 1955, Pt. I, Pl. I.

PLATE I



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



1. Diodotus I, 2. Diodotus II, 3-4. Euthydemus I,
5-6. Demetrius I, 7-8. Apollodotus.

PLATE II



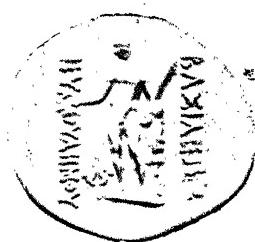
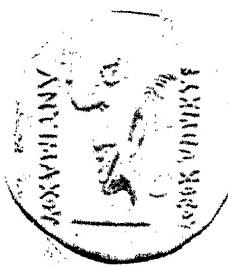
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2



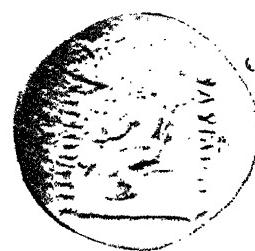
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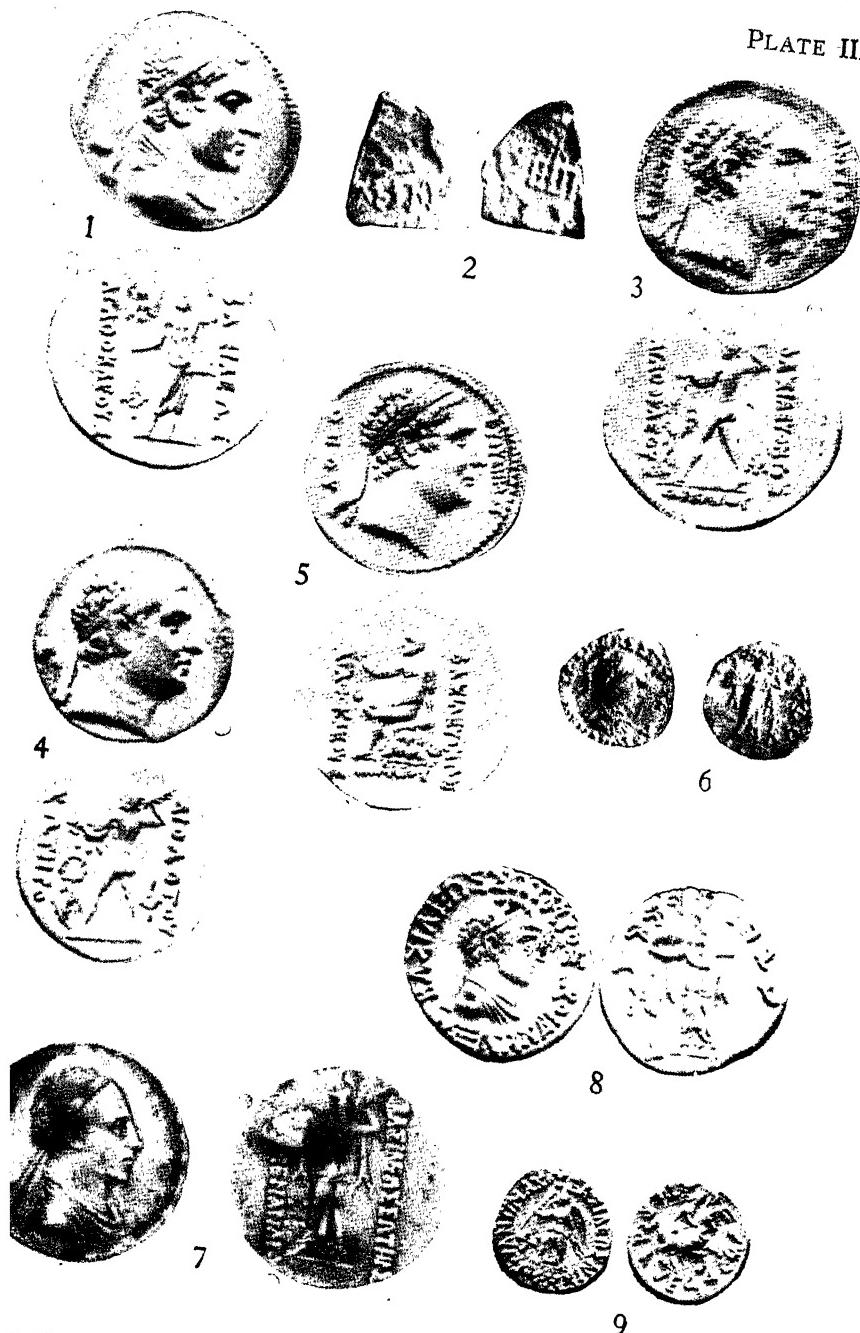


5



1-2. Antimachus I, 3. Euthydemus II, 4. Demetrius II,
5. Pantaleon.

PLATE III



1-5. Agathocles,
9. Antimachus II

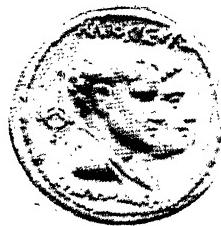
6-8. Menander,
Nikephoros.

PLATE IV



1. Lysias, 2-3. Agathocleia and Strato I, 4-5 and 7. Strato I,
6. Strato I and II, 8. Amyntas, 9. Hermaeus, 10. Hermaeus
and Kujula Kadphises.

PLATE V



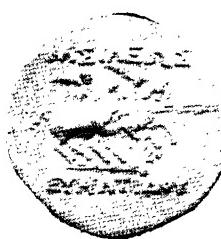
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5



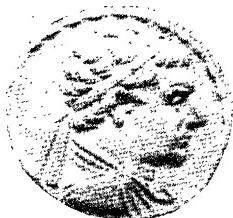
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7

1-7. Eukratides I (5-7 are *Kapisi devata* types),

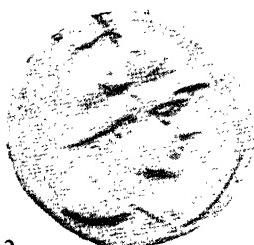
PLATE VI



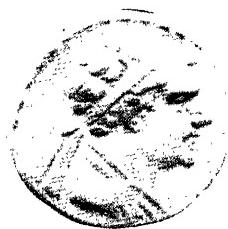
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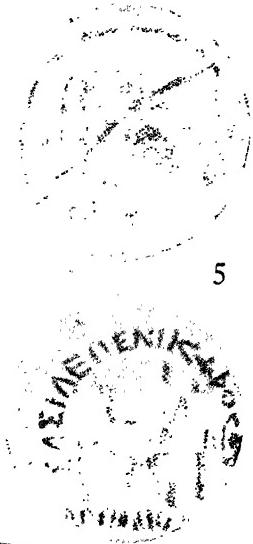
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3



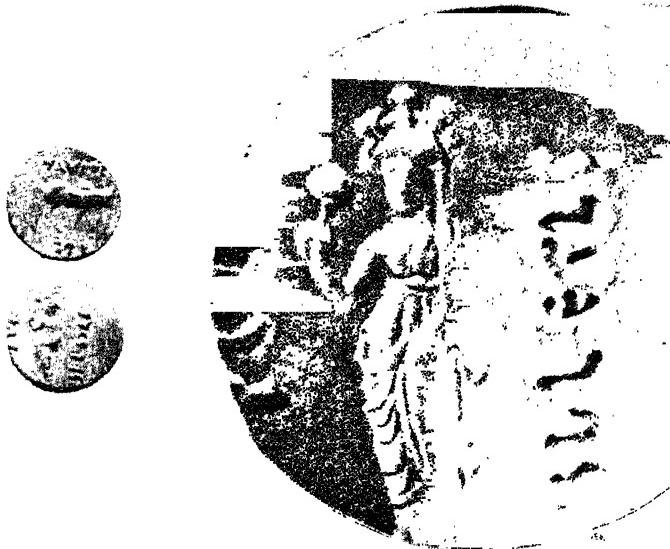
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5



6



7

1-2. Heliocles, 3. Plato, 4. Eukratides II, 5. Antialkidas,
6-7. *Pushkalavati devata* type.